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From “the Rise of the West” to “Eurosclerosis”: Are There Lessons for the Asian-Pacific Region?

Erich Weede

1. The Rise of the West or the Virtues of Limited Government

For millenia the typical fate of man has been hunger and misery, repression and subjugation. Of course, there have always been ruling classes who enjoyed abundance, luxuries and a good life. But the masses of the subject populations were rather close to the starvation level. In many parts of Africa, India, and even in some places in Latin America, such a description still fits the contemporary age. Only three decades ago, abject poverty still was a common experience in China or Korea — and whether it has been overcome now in Mainland China or North Korea is at best debatable. What needs explanation is how and why Western civilization could ever substitute material abundance for mass poverty. In contrast to dependency and world system theorists, I reject the ideas that the persistence of poverty and underdevelopment constitute the primary theoretical problem, that Western exploitation of the Third World explains ‘the Rise of the West’. Admittedly, there has been some exploitation. But exploitation of conquered lands and peoples is much older

than Western civilization. Exploitation has been practiced by non-Westerners and Westerners alike. Exploitation did not suffice to break the pattern of mass poverty elsewhere. We have to look for a different explanation.

In my view, the most persuasive explanatory sketch of ‘the Rise of the West’ has been proposed by the economic historian Eric Jones (1981). I shall repeat some of his ideas, but modify them wherever I believe it to be desirable. At the end of the middle ages, Chinese and Indian civilizations were technologically ahead of Europe. We should ask the question, how and why backward Europe could ever overcome these more advanced civilizations. In Jones’ view, the differences between European and Asian landscapes are related to different economic and political outcomes. Whereas there are huge and fairly homogeneous areas in Asia, like the Yellow River or Ganges plains, West European climates, geology and soils vary greatly from place to place. The Yellow River and Ganges plains constitute huge core-areas for state-building efforts. But European core-areas are comparatively small. In Europe, somewhat difficult terrain, mountains or forests have

separated core-areas from each other in spite of rather short distances in between. That is why Indian or Chinese kings succeeded in unifying and ruling huge territories, whereas West European princes ruled comparatively small territories. Indian and Chinese history often produced empires bordering on rather backward peoples and regions only. Sometimes, such peoples conquered India or China, but the conquerors tended to become ruling classes and to accept the superior civilization of the conquered. In contrast, European rulers always faced neighboring states with roughly equal economic, technological and military capabilities. In a nutshell: European history leads to an international system of more or less permanently competing states.

European *disunity* has been our good luck. The long history of a unified China made it possible for a rather backward and disunited Europe to overtake China. Why? In the European state system local rulers could do limited damage only. Superstition and inefficiency existed in European ruling circles as elsewhere in the world, but they never could harm the entire European continent. By contrast, in united China unwise policies could and did damage the growth prospects of the entire civilization. Just a single example: In the fifteenth century Chinese ships explored the vast area between the east African coast and northeastern Siberia. Jones (1981, p. 67) summarizes the end of the story and draws the proper conclusion: "The record of Chinese exploration which was halted in 1430 and prevented by fiat from resumption in 1480 shows what could happen in a centralised empire that could not happen, or be enforced, in a decentralised system

of states like Europe. Progress might be sluggish and frustrating but it was less likely to be permanently baulked; to pursue the example, Columbus did eventually find a sponsor. The other large societies of Eurasia that might potentially have developed as Europe did develop, tended to suffer from various disabilities including political centralism and whimsicality. Their earlier and perhaps greater intellectual promise was always stultified."

This is an important enough point to deserve repetition and elaboration: *The European state system produced something like limited government even in an age of absolutism.* Europeans did suffer from arbitrary, superstitious and incompetent rulers as Asians did. But the rivalry and hostility between European rulers, the sometimes rather tiny patches of land where princes ruled, and the often rather close political border made it impossible to repress innovation. Since the reformation not even the church enjoyed continental influence. Damage by political and ecclesiastical rulers had to be limited.

Of course, interstate rivalry in Europe produced wars which, in turn, brought misery and devastation to European lands and peoples. Simultaneously, however, the close-to-permanent state of war in Europe forced rulers to become interested in economic development and in the well-being and loyalty of their subjects. A richer country provided a broader tax base. It could support a larger army. A loyal population became a royal asset in times of war. Refugees from religious or political persecution were to be welcomed, if they possessed some superior skills. Warring princes had to have an interest in economic and military innovations. Wars and refugees spread

the innovations throughout Europe.

While the European wars did cause a lot of suffering and destruction, simultaneously the permanent threats to ruling class ambitions and security did affect the *balance of power within societies* for the benefit of the lower classes (Andreski 1968). Even in the contemporary world, threats to national security still seem to contribute to economic growth and income equalization (Garnier and Hazelrigg 1977, Kahn 1979: 334 and 457, Kriesberg 1979, p. 379, Weede and Jagodzinski 1981, Weede 1983). Rulers tend to treat subjects better where they need them against foreign enemies. Elsewhere, rulers prefer to exploit subjects.

The pattern of European landscapes not only lead to a system of rival states which effectively limited the damage government could do in Europe. Simultaneously, the variety of European climates and soils contributed to the formation of bulk trade in mass consumption goods and to the early rise of markets. The intra-European differences in comparative advantage and in production opportunities made an interregional division of labor and trade rather profitable. Whereas Europe is characterized by small-scale and heterogeneous landscapes, the core areas of China and India are huge and rather homogeneous regions. That is why bulk trade in *mass* consumption goods arose much earlier in European than in Asian history.

Of course, Asia knows long-distance trade far earlier than Europe does. But Asian trade concerned luxuries instead of mass consumption products. The difference is important because it is related to the more clearly defined and better *property rights* for merchants

in Europe than in Asia. For rulers face entirely different incentives depending on the size of the territory they control and on the nature of long-distance trade. If merchants transport relatively cheap products for mass consumption and do so repeatedly within rather short time intervals, and if the ruling prince controls a small piece of territory, he rationally should not rob the merchant and confiscate his goods. By confiscation, the small prince achieves some immediate, but modest gain at the expense of generating a steady stream of protection rents which he might collect from merchants. The robber prince simply forces trade routes to bypass his territory to the benefit of more far-sighted rulers nearby. So, the nature of intra-European trade made irregular confiscation less attractive to European rulers, but made them concede comparatively safe property rights to traders. Of course, by conceding *relatively* safe property rights, *European rulers accepted some limitation to whimsical governmental power*. Most of them did not do it out of benevolence or humanitarian impulse, but because of self-interest and future gains.

By contrast, Asian rulers over vast territories faced merchants who engaged in long-distance trade with high unit-value *luxury* goods. Not robbing the merchants implied foregoing rather big immediate gains. Since political control covered much larger areas, traders found it more difficult than in Europe to bypass the territory of confiscating governments. Rulers did not grant anything like safe property rights to merchants or, for that matter, to producers.

The relationship between governmental or state strength and property rights is always a delicate matter. To

overcome the insecurity inherent in anarchy, we need government to protect property rights. But who protects people from their protectors and their predatory appetites? In European history the predatory dispositions of rulers have been checked by interstate rivalry and governmental interest in the well-being and loyalty of their subjects or, later, citizens. Probably, the *evolution of property rights is the central explanatory variable contributing to 'the European Miracle'* (Jones 1981; North and Thomas 1973; North 1981; Ekelund and Tollison 1981). Safe property rights are absolutely essential, if there are to be incentives to produce, to save and to invest, upon all of which economic growth and development depend.

Admittedly, my explanatory sketch of the different development histories of Europe and Asia is biased and incomplete. I do not claim to offer anything like a full explanation, but I do claim that the early limitation of governmental power in Europe which has been forced upon reluctant rulers by necessity is the root cause of the evolution of European property rights which, in turn, made the West surpass other and previously superior civilizations. The lesson which European development or 'the Rise of the West' can teach the Asian-Pacific region, therefore, simply is the virtue of *limited government*.

2. Eurosclerosis or the Ills of Too Much Government

Geographical patterns in Europe contributed to the formation of a state system, to inter-regional complementarities in production opportunities and to the early origin of bulk trade in mass consumption goods. All of these factors contributed to limiting govern-

mental power and to a slow evolution of rather safe property rights which provide incentives for the economically active strata of society. It has to be reiterated that this process started much earlier than egalitarian or democratic regimes or even such ideologies arose in the West. *Limited government is a predemocratic achievement in the West.* Moreover, democracy does not necessarily preserve it.

Recently, Mancur Olson (1982, p. 77) suggested that "countries that have had democratic freedom of organization without upheaval or invasion the longest will suffer the most from growth-repressing organizations and combinations". Or, to repeat the message in simpler terms: The older a democracy becomes, the less economically viable it becomes, the lower the economic growth rates shall go. If Olson's proposition contains a major kernel of truth, then we may hope to explain 'Eurosclerosis' and even the differential degree to which West European democracies are thereby affected.

The argument may run like this.¹ In every society there are latent groups which could gain from forming a distributional coalition and from distorting prices. Take a small number of oligopolistic producers of some final consumption good as an example. They might become better off, if they form a cartel, if they fix a higher price than the one they obtain at competitive markets. In order to maintain the higher-than-necessary or distorted cartel price, the oligopolistic producers have to cut production and to share the market in a regular manner, say by quotas. The formation of a successful cartel has a variety of effects: The producers sell smaller quantities of

more expensive products at better profits to themselves. There is a generally regressive transfer of income from consumers to producers. There is some deadweight loss. Those would-be consumers who would buy the goods at lower competitive price levels, but no longer do so at cartel prices, suffer a welfare loss. Nobody, not even the cartel producers enjoy a gain corresponding to this loss. Worst of all, cartelization is likely to be infective. If some economic actors perceive that others succeed in rigging prices and capturing contrived transfers, they will try harder to follow the bad example.

According to Olson (1965, 1982), oligopolistic producers enjoy a headstart in the formation of distributional coalitions and in enforcing restrictive practices. In his view, small groups find it easier to overcome the free-riding problem. Since cartel prices constitute a collective good, either all producers can charge them or none can do it. So every producer would like to sell as much as he can produce at high cartel prices and make other producers suffer the limitation of production essential to maintain high cartel prices. In a nutshell: Every producer would like a cartel where he himself could cheat and enjoy free-riding, but where others remain honest. The smaller the group, the more visible cheating is, the more likely cheating is to run down the cartel price even to the detriment of the offender, the more likely cheating is to be detected and somehow to be sanctioned by others. In a large group, however, everyone knows that success mainly depends on the actions of others, that his action has close to invisible effects. Therefore, incentives to free-riding or cheating are much greater in a large than in a small

group. Or, large groups find it much more difficult to obtain collective goods than small ones.

But some large groups have made it. Basically, trade unions are little different from other cartels. Of course, workers in some industry constitute a large group: hundreds, thousands, may-be millions. Higher wages and better working conditions are collective goods for them. Assembly-line workers *do not* stand much of a chance of getting better pay by themselves and for themselves only. They can gain, if they form a union, if the union forces employers to grant higher wages. Obviously, higher wages imply a transfer from the richer employer to his poorer workers. Many people applaud this. Secondly, the higher price of labor will depress demand in the unionized sector of the economy and may even drive some people into ununionized sector of the economy and may even drive some people into unemployment (Olson 1982, p. 201, Olson and Colander 1983). Thirdly, unionization and better wages in some branches of the economy will set a model which other workers will try to emulate.

Since workers in some sectors of the economy are very large groups, it is not easy to understand how they could ever overcome the free-riding problem. But we know that they did succeed in many West European democracies. Olson (1965) explains it by reference to selective incentives and coercion. One might add political entrepreneurship as another explanatory factor. In the context of this paper it may suffice to focus on the effects of cartels, trade unions and other distributional coalitions instead of their difficulties in achieving their aims, i.e., the provision of public goods for

subnational groups. The major effect of free-riding tendencies and of the headstart of small compared with large interest groups is that a society should not hope to achieve a 'just' distribution of income (whatever that may mean!) through the efforts of interest groups or distributional coalitions.

Whether the redistribution achieved by interest groups is progressive or regressive varies from case to case. Because of the headstart of small and privileged minorities in the formation of distributional coalitions, there is little reason to anticipate more redistribution from the privileged to the poor than the other way around (see Olson 1982, Tullock 1983). While the equity effect of distributional struggles and income transfers resulting therefrom may be either negative or negligible, the growth effect is plainly devastating. Distributional coalitions must aim at favorable price distortions. They must protect their 'achievements' (i.e., distorted prices) by the elimination or reduction of competition, by restrictive practices, by erecting barriers to entry into protected markets for goods and labor. Such restrictive practices and distortions interfere with allocative efficiency, impede innovation, divert energy from productive purposes to negative-sum struggles for political power and transfers. Ultimately, restrictive practices drive economic growth rates down and unemployment up.

By granting the liberty to form business, farm and professional associations or trade unions to their citizens, democracies permit interest groups to play their selfish, short-sighted and ultimately destructive game. Democratic government is not the main culprit in the rent-seeking society (Buchanan,

Tollison and Tullock 1980, Weede 1984), but Western democracies cannot prevent the culprits, i.e., distributional coalitions, from doing their job. It is difficult even to conceive of a state being capable of taming unions and big business and professional or farmers' associations and remaining a democracy at the very same time. For the record, it should be admitted that not only democracies suffer from distributional coalitions and rent-seeking. Other political regimes suffer from similar and, conceivably, worse defects (Olson 1982, Ekelund and Tollison 1981). My intention is not to degrade democracy, but to argue that democracy is not enough to assure good government, limited government, or decent economic performance.

Before I continue my theoretical argument, you may ask whether there is any hard and preferably quantitative evidence to support the view which I borrowed from Olson (1982, 1983). According to this view, aging democracies suffer more from distributional coalitions and distributional struggles and rent-seeking than younger democracies do. Within a stable institutional environment time permits latent interest groups to overcome the free-riding tendencies in their potential membership and to get organized for collective action. Therefore, 'sclerotic' old democracies like Britain or Australia tend to grow more slowly than younger ones like Japan or even West Germany. Econometric studies of industrialized democracies support this interpretation (Choi 1983a, 1983b, Weede 1984, 1986, Bernholz 1984, Lane and Errson 1986). Moreover, Olson and Colander (1983) even demonstrate some relationship between union strength and more unemployment among American states.

While Olson (1982, 1983) indicts distributional coalitions of causing economic stagnation and unemployment, I feel that he has too benign a view of Western democratic governments. Of course, he knows and points out that governments *could* deny distributional coalitions the benefits of restrictive practices and cartelization. It is not even necessary to resort to repressive means. If a national cartel — and there are few global cartels — conspires to raise prices, the government could simply abolish all barriers to foreign trade and thereby force producers back to lower price levels. By similar means a government may even break a strike of workers who seek higher wages than productivity and the market permit. Restrictive practices, cartelization, or rent-seeking need government acquiescence or, better still for the distributional coalitions (but worse for the entire economy), government support. Protectionism contributes to restrictive practices and cartelization. Governments could and should do away with it.

Instead of fighting distributional coalitions and their attempts to distort prices, many Western governments grant monopolies, actually organize cartels, assist unions to mobilize workers for collective action, and help farmers to evade competitive markets and competitive prices. Deploring such harmful policies, Tullock (1980, p. 211) states: "One of the major activities of modern governments is the granting of special privileges to various groups of politically influential people." Buchanan (1980, p. 9) adds: "Rent-seeking activity is directly related to the scope and range of governmental activity in the economy, to the relative size of the public sector." I have no time and space to go into the

economic theory of democracy and to try to explain why *democratic governments fall prey to special interests*, why they *get involved in* and *persist in harmful policies* (see Bernholz, 1977, for a neat theory). But I do want to point out that big government, as measured by government revenue *or* outlays *or* consumption *or* social security transfers, depresses economic growth rates. Again, there is econometric evidence for OECD member states to support this proposition (Bernholz 1984, Weede 1984, 1986).

Undoubtedly, Communist governed societies suffer from much bigger government than even the most socialist-minded West European democracies do. Strong government interference with the economy is a predemocratic invention and may well survive democracy. The Communists work hard to make this happen. I do not want to blame democracy for big government which usually is simultaneously bad government. Instead I want to point out that democracy does not necessarily protect a society from interest groups and overgovernment.

Since Japan and the United States do not suffer as much from large public sectors as many Western European nations do,² our illness has been termed 'Eurosclerosis'. Europe lead 'the Rise of the West', later the United States followed and overtook us. Currently, Japan is about to overtake even the most successful European societies and Japan has overtaken the European laggards some time ago.

At the end of the first section of this paper I suggested that 'the Rise of the West' teaches the virtues of limited government. At the end of the second section of this paper I want to add that 'Eurosclerosis' teaches the ills of too

many distributional struggles and too much government exploited by winning interest groups.

3. Reflections on the Applicability of 'the Lesson' to the Asian-Pacific Region

It is conceivable that a theory is true, but not helpful. If Weber's (1920) sociology of religion and his Protestant ethic were true, this would not necessarily permit East Asian peoples to travel the Calvinist road to economic development. The Chinese and other Asian peoples might simply be too worldly and secular in outlook ever to accept Calvinism or a similar creed. But East Asians have proven their capability and willingness to accept limitations to governmental power when their rulers had to.

Japan was opened to Western trade by force. This was a first and severely felt limitation of governmental power. After the Meiji Restoration, the Japanese government was forced to sign some treaties which limited its power to raise tariffs and to fall into the protectionist trap which some former European colonies in Latin America, Africa, or Asia could freely get into (Friedman 1981, p. 53/54). Pushed into the modern world against the desires of her traditional rulers, Japan soon became a major power.

In World War II Japan shared defeat with Germany. Japan lost its colonies on the Asian mainland and safe access to the raw materials there. Japan could no longer obtain them by mere command, but had to obtain them by free trade in world markets. This is another limitation of governmental power — and a more lasting one than temporary military rule by the Americans. The *zaibatsu* and some traditional economic

interests groups may not have been destroyed, but they were weakened by defeat and foreign occupation and had to assume a lower profile. While the Americans may feel that there is too much collusion, cartelization, market-sharing and price-rigging within 'Japan Incorporated', Japan has at least been forced to pretend that it runs a free market economy. Even the necessity to uphold the pretension of a free market is a severe limitation of governmental power and of the power of *some* domestic distributional coalitions as well.³

I do not want to argue that Japan comes close to a textbook ideal of an open economy. It is certainly not. But no nation has ever in history been very close to the ideal for a long time. It is a matter of degree. When external pressure forced Japan to move closer to the ideal of a market economy, away from a traditional command economy where government could always prevail, 'the Rise of Japan' took place.

Many Western observers of the Japanese miracle feel that Japan engages in subtle protectionism, that there are all kinds of non-tariff barriers to trade in Japan. There may be some truth to this charge. But those who make it tend to forget two things. First, the worst non-tariff barrier to Western salesmen in Japan might be the differences in Western and Japanese cultures and languages. These differences simply make it harder for an American to succeed in Japanese than in German markets. Or for a German to succeed in Japanese markets is much more difficult than to succeed in France. It is simply unreasonable to expect that the Japanese do away with their culture and language in order to minimize

non-tariff barriers to trade. Second, I don't see how Japanese protectionism — to the degree it exists and might be removed — can explain 'the Rise of Japan'. According to some eminent economists (Friedman 1981), protectionism hurts the country which engages in it as much as it hurts others, if not more so. In my opinion, 'the Rise of Japan' is consistent with the lessons derived from 'the Rise of the West' and from 'Euroclerosis'. Economic progress necessitates some limitation of governmental power. Such limitation is usually forced upon reluctant governments by some kind of necessity. This is equally true of European and Asian governments.

The Republic of China on Taiwan and South Korea are smaller countries than Japan. Until 1950s they were typical underdeveloped countries characterized by mass poverty and rather poor economic prospects. By now, both countries have achieved economic miracles of their own and left most of the Third World behind. While the transition from mass poverty to affluence usually implies some temporary trend towards a less egalitarian income distribution to be reversed only later (Kuznets 1963), Taiwan is the most prominent case of a nation combining rapid growth with an improved income distribution (Kuo, Ranis, Fei 1984). Is it plausible to argue that the limitation of governmental power contributed to the Korean and ROC success stories?

In my view, it is. Both countries are rather small. Obviously, the potential for inward-looking policies and a focus on import substitution instead of export orientation were rather limited. So, the protectionist and inward-looking trap was never as attractive to Koreans and

the Chinese in Taiwan as it was (or is) to India or Nigeria and the larger Latin American nations. The small size of the Korean and ROC economies, in particular before their miracles took off, is in itself somewhat limited governmental decision-latitude in economic affairs. Dependence on the United States in national security affairs as well as in economic affairs — first on US aid, later on access to US markets — further limited governmental decision-latitude. The absolute necessity to maintain US support implied some constraints on governmental ability to stray off the path of free market virtues.

Finally, the South Korean as well as the ROC governments were and still are much more dependent on the willing cooperation of the entire population than most LDC governments ever have been. Neither South Korea nor ROC is a democracy in the strict sense of the world. Ruling classes don't really depend on votes. They were and are able to repress rioting students by brute military (or police) force. But both regimes have to rely on a high degree of loyalty of military officers, non-commissioned officers, and even conscripted privates; many of whom come from (and after their service has been completed return to) the lower strata of society. The military confrontation between North and South Korea, between Mainland China and the ROC *forces* ruling classes to care for the lot of average people, to care for the masses.

Ruling classes in Korea or the ROC never enjoyed the decision-latitude of most Latin American, African, or even Philippino governments who need not worry about the combat performance of conscripts in a conventional war against a hostile, well-equipped and

determined opponent. The only contingency most LDC military forces seriously contemplate is civilian unrest and guerilla war. Even if such a war is slowly lost, many members of the privileged strata are likely to succeed in getting out in time. By contrast, ruling classes in South Korea and the ROC know that military failure against the Communists might be *very fast* (unless their troops are loyal and competently officered), that the Communists would not hesitate to put them into concentration camps, that they are unlikely to survive military defeat for long.

In my view, non-democratic (i.e., despotic) governments tend to choose the easy and comfortable 'policy' of exploiting their subjects instead of promoting growth, equity and national security, wherever circumstances permit them to do so. South Korean and the ROC circumstances never did. While not constitutionally or legally enshrined, this constitutes an extremely important limitation of governmental power in South Korea and Taiwan. Nothing can be done which alienates those who might be needed in case of war in either country.

South Korea and the ROC seem to repeat some of our experiences in 'the Rise of the West' period. West European rulers did not concede property rights and limited government to their subjects because of spontaneous desires or democratic demands, but because of necessities arising out of an international system characterized by permanent risks of war.

There is some quantitative evidence to support some of the arguments advanced above. The higher the threat to national security, the higher the military participation ratio (military personnel/population), the higher have

been economic growth rates in the 1960s and 1970s, the more egalitarian size distributions of income are (Garnier and Hazelrigg 1977, Kahn 1979: 334 and 457, Kriesberg 1979, p. 379, Weede and Jagodzinski 1981, Weede 1983). Limitation of governmental decision-latitude by external threats seems to improve economic performance.

But I do not want to focus too much on external threats and military necessities. My central concern is *limited government*. Hongkong demonstrates that whatever its roots limited government by itself promotes economic growth (Rabushka 1979). Of course, Hongkong is not a democracy, since it is not even sovereign. Nevertheless, the worst problem with limited government by aliens seems to be that the local population cannot force it to remain in office, but has to face the prospects of less limited, if not unlimited government by natives and corresponding economic performance instead.

The less limited government is, the more likely it is to interfere with supply and demand, the more likely it is to distort prices. There is a World Bank (1983, p. 57-63) study which demonstrates a rather strong relationship between government-induced price distortions and slower economic growth. According to this study, few countries succeed in avoiding government interference with prices better than South Korea. Almost all LDCs where government influence on prices is stronger have reason to envy the Korean performance.

4. Some Reflections on Limited Government and Democracy

In this paper I have argued that

limitations on the decision-latitude of ruling princes, i.e., some kind of limited government, have been important determinants of 'the Rise of West'. Moreover, I have argued that backsliding from the limited government ideal has contributed to the decline of Europe or 'Eurosclerosis'. In order to avoid misunderstandings: Certainly, limited government is not the only major cause of 'the Rise of the West', and the expansion of the tax and welfare state is not the only major cause of 'Eurosclerosis'. Obviously, the carnage of World War II is strongly related to the decline of Europe, too. But I do believe in a rather strong linkage between limited government in the one hand and superior economic performance on the other hand. In my view, the rise of Japan, South Korea and the ROC testifies to the virtues of limited government, too.

Limited government arose before democracy did. In South Korea and the ROC, limited government exists today without full-fledged democracy. In Western Europe, in particular in Scandinavian social democracies, we observe democracy, but limited government is steadily eroded. Obviously, limited government and democracy are different things. Limited government is valuable in its own right. The eminent British economist Peter Bauer (1981, p. 190) has argued this point so well that he deserves to be quoted: "Hong Kong should remind us that a non-elective government can be more limited than an elected one; and that for most ordinary people it is arguably more important whether government is limited or unlimited than whether it is elective or non-elective." For limited government gives much economic decision-latitude to ordinary citizens or even to subjects,

unlimited government does not. Limited government concedes some degree of self-determination to people. Unlimited government, even if freely elected, at best grants them some extremely small influence on collective decisions — 'extremely small' because of the large number of adults even in countries like the Republic of China on Taiwan.

Hayek (1960) has pointed out the most important reason why economic self-determination is so important that not even majority decisions should replace it. Most people know their personal interests, their working conditions, and their job, their own skills and their market value fairly well. Centralized collective decision-making, even if democratic, cannot benefit from this knowledge scattered in millions of heads. Only decentralization and self-determination in a market economy can mobilize this human potential and thereby contribute to the welfare of almost all. Since the market rewards those who produce what others want and what others are ready to pay for, it guarantees that men take each others' interests into account. The market forces even selfish persons to act *as if* they had the desire to fulfill the needs of others. Certainly, the market distinguishes between people according to their ability to pay. But nothing prevents noble persons or relatives or churches to spend their money for philanthropic purposes, for example to satisfy the needs of those who do not and cannot succeed on the market because of illness or age. If a society contains enough such noble persons, the inability of the market to take good care of a small proportion of the population doesn't matter. If a society lacks such noble persons, to whom could we entrust rather

unlimited governmental powers?

While limited government and democracy are not closely correlated, there still is a relationship. Historically, democracy arose first where government was more limited than elsewhere. *Limited government preceded democracy*. Where the power of government is severely restricted, where ruling classes need not fear for their property or even for their lives if they should be losing the confidence of the citizenry, there democracy may be established rather easily. Not too much is at stake. One may lose gracefully. Perhaps the repeated failure of democracy in the Third World — and most former colonies began their independent existence with a democratic constitution on the British or French model — is related to the fact that government is not constrained within rather narrow limitations, that losers in the political arena cannot look forward to success in the market, safe property rights and a comfortable private life.

Implicit in my reflections is the recommendation of a *smooth* transition to democracy in countries which don't have it yet. Limits to governmental authority, in particular limits to governmental power to interfere with the economy, should be firmly and constitutionally established.⁴ Simple majorities should not suffice to move the nation towards unlimited government

under the usual pretext of equity and justice. In my view, this is *not* a recommendation to accept a second-best kind of democracy for the sake of a smooth transition. American economists like Buchanan (1975) or Friedman (1985) advocate such constitutional changes for the United States of America, in order to safeguard the benefits of democracy and limited government at the same time. The slowly growing tax and welfare states in Western Europe which lag behind America and Japan in economic performance need such changes even more.

In my view, a 'Constitution of Liberty' (Hayek 1960) which severely restricts the scope of government is desirable in itself. In addition it might ease the transition to democracy and avoid the backsliding which we commonly observe all around the Third World. Nations with a Confucian heritage might consider further measures to secure a smooth transition, to avoid exaggerated aspirations and youthful impatience. Why should a nation not restrict the right to vote to persons aged forty and above? I would not be astonished, if current governments in Seoul or Taipei are more ready to trust mature voters than immature students. Unfortunately, my home country doesn't have a Confucian heritage. But those who have it ought to make the most of it.

NOTES

1. My argument is not only influenced by Olson (1982), but also by the literature on rent-seeking (Buchanan, Tollison, and Tullock 1980). Although I want to avoid a technical definition which is already known to some readers and not helpful to other readers, I have to provide some connotations. Within the context of this paper, rents refer to excessive incomes which owners of resources (e.g. capital or labor) can capture because of collusion and restrictive practices. A rent-seeking society suffers from a distortion of incentives, because too much time, money and

effort is invested in collusion (cartelization) and distributional struggles.

2. It is often argued that the Japanese state interferes a lot with the economy. As far as I can judge, this charge sounds true. Since the Japanese public sector (as assessed by government revenue or outlay or social security transfers) is much smaller than almost all European public sectors, it may still be true that *purely* political or administrative decision-making affects a smaller part of the Japanese economy than of European economies. The quantitative evidence looks this way. And the qualitative evidence is notoriously hard to judge. Japanese consensus-seeking may constrain government as much as it constrains enterprises. At least in national security policies, it is abundantly clear that *the quest for consensus is a truly major limitation of governmental decision-latitude in Japan*.
3. Japanese agriculture is an obvious exception. But I simply cannot imagine that Japanese agricultural policies are much worse than European ones. May be they are equally bad and inefficient. Even the United States protects farmers from market forces.
4. An independent monetary authority like the American Federal Reserve Bank or the German Bundesbank might be a very useful limitation on governmental inclinations to commit economic policy errors for the sake of short-run electoral benefits. An independent judicial authority modeled on the American Supreme Court might be a useful guardian of the constitution. For a transition phase, however, close to unanimous military support for a libertarian constitution and limited government might be decisive.

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The Ancient Chinese Art of Strategy

(Part 1)

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(徐兆鏞)

A crisis or an emergency such as an act of terrorism, unpredictable and deadly, that defies law and conventions needs to be dealt with by means of a special strategy.

The taking of some 63 American hostages by Iranian militants in the American Embassy in Teheran in 1979, the bombing of the U.S. Marine barracks building in Beirut by suicide terrorists on October 23, 1983, the hijacking of a TWA Boeing 737 jet airliner by two Arab gunmen on June 14, 1984 after it took off from Athens for Rome with 153 passengers, including 104 Americans, on board, the hijacking of the Italian cruise ship *Archille Lauro* by four terrorists of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the Mediterranean off the Egyptian coast on October 7, 1985 and similar terrorist acts, sophisticatedly planned and dastardly carried out, took the victimized countries by surprise and baffled them as to how to deal with them effectively as they transcended past experiences. They taxed the intelligence and resourcefulness of the governments concerned to develop a special strategy to deal with them.

Webster's Third New International Dictionary defines "strategy" as "the

science or art of employing the political, economic, psychological, and military forces of a nation or group of nations to afford the maximum support to adopted policies in peace or war," or "the art of devising or employing plans or stratagems toward a goal." I may stress the element of intelligence and ingenuity in devising a strategy for the effectiveness of any strategy depends largely upon mental inventiveness.

(The importance of strategy may be illustrated by U.S. President Ronald Reagan's launching of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) which the Russians insist on calling "Star Wars" to dramatize and denigrate it. Under the SDI program researches are being undertaken in the United States to render nuclear missiles "impotent and obsolete." The program aims at building a land- and space-based defense system against the most deadly and destructive nuclear missiles. The imbalance of the Soviet and U.S. stockpiles of nuclear missiles is obviously one reason why the United States is anxious to build a defense system. The Soviets have reportedly 1,323 medium-range missiles targeted on Western Europe, China and Japan, and the United States is building toward deploying 572 in five European nations.

In an attempt to win the Soviets' agreement on the elimination of nuclear missiles President Reagan has even offered to share with the Soviets the know-how of the SDI program.

Since the launching of the SDI program reportedly under the influence of Edward Teller, a key figure in the design of the hydrogen bomb, there has been a bitter controversy among scientists over the feasibility of the program. Many reputable scientists, mostly physicists and computerists, have testified that they do not believe an effective anti-missile system could be developed in the foreseeable future. But young scientists whose mentor is Edward Teller, working on exotic new SDI technologies pooh-poohed this diffidence and are hopeful that some sort of workable anti-missile system can be devised.

The debate so far has been on whether an effective system could be built and, if such a system were possible, how soon could the United States build it. No physicist would claim that it would not be possible to build one before early in the next century.

Despite the uncertainty of building such a system, the Soviets have been gravely concerned about the SDI program since it was launched. Stigmatizing it as the "Star Wars" program, the Soviet Government has vehemently attacked it and demanded its abolition. At the Geneva summit in November, 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet Secretary-General, showed anxiousness to negotiate on the abolition of the SDI program. He said, "We should negotiate now. A year or 18 months from now, it will be more difficult. You are trying to catch a firebird." He knew that if the United States should succeed in developing a defense system, he would be at a disadvantage in arms reduction talks. The Reykjavik, Iceland meeting last October broke down over Gorbachev's demand to ban the SDI program for 10 years, limiting it to laboratory research,

which is tantamount to killing it. President Reagan, of course, rejected the demand. He is holding the SDI program as his trump card in dealings with the Soviets.

For a nation's security and preservation of its interests strategies need be devised to cope with special situations. Thus most nations have an intelligence service, the establishment of which is a strategic move. The intelligence service is the eyes and ears of the nation, which needs to know what other nations plan to do or are doing particularly to it. It does not want to be caught off guard in case of an attack, military, political or otherwise.)

Looking back on Chinese history, the importance of intelligence and ingenuity in devising strategy is exemplified by the war between Hsiang Yü 項羽 (233-202 B.C.) and Liu Pang 劉邦 (247-195 B.C.) for supremacy after the overthrow of the Ch'in dynasty. Hsiang Yü who was a brave and muscular warrior, followed his uncle Hsiang Liang 項良 (died 208 B.C.), a strategist, in revolt against despotic Ch'in and rose to great prominence. But after Hsiang Liang's death, he lost strategic direction whereas Liu Pang had Ch'en P'ing 陳平 (died 178 B.C.), Chang Liang 張良 (died 187 B.C.) and Hsiao Ho 蕭何 (died 193 B.C.) as counselors in devising strategies. He challenged his arch rival to a hand-to-hand combat with the understanding that whoever won could win the Empire. But Liu Pang was too wily to accept his challenge, saying that he would enter with him into a combat of wits rather than personal strength. In the subsequent contest Hsiang Yü was outmaneuvered and defeated. After his complete rout at the battle of Kai-hsia 垓下 he retreated to the west bank of the Wu River 烏江. He felt too ashamed

to cross the river to meet the elders of his native place and committed suicide after drinking with his favorite consort Lady Yü 虞姬. Liu Pang won out in the long contest for supremacy for his better strategy and abler command.

In ancient China the art of strategy developed remarkably in the Warring States period (403-221 B.C.). It was the time of the decline of the Imperial power of the Chou dynasty and the rise of the feudal states for supremacy. In the struggle for supremacy among the stronger states, or survival for the weaker states, the rulers of these states need men of intelligence and ability to devise strategies to cope with the situations then obtaining. There arose itinerant politicians who traveled from state to state to call on the rulers and offer their services. If they could win the trust of the rulers, they were appointed to high positions and wielded great power, some rising literally from poverty to princedom. Most outstanding among the political adventurers then were Su Ch'in 蘇秦 (died 317 B.C.) of Loyang, Honan Province, and Chang I 張儀 (died 310 B.C.), a native of the Wei State. Among the "Thinkers and Philosophers of a Hundred Schools" 諸子百家 flourishing in that period and earlier they were known as *Tsung-hêng-chia* 縱橫家, advocates of the strategies of Confederation and Hegemony. Su Ch'in embraced the cause of confederation and through his eloquence and maneuvers induced the Six States of Ch'i, Ch'u, Yen, Han, Chao and Wei to unite to resist the growing power of Ch'in. He was made President of the Six States' Confederation and each of the member States conferred upon him the seal of chancellery. Chang I who entered into the service of the

Ch'in State, championed the contrary strategy of hegemony whereby he used his craftiness and deceit to counteract Su Ch'in's work and brought the Six States under the domination of Ch'in. These two wily statesmen who carried out diametrically opposite political strategies and whose work aggravated the contention and turmoil of the States are said to be the disciples of the same master of strategy Kuei-ku Tzŭ 鬼谷子 (Man of the Devil's Vale), so-called after his retreat into a mountain.

Two other outstanding disciples of Kuei-ku Tzŭ were Sun Pin 孫臏 and P'ang Chüan 龐涓, both military strategists. After graduation, P'ang Chüan served Prince Hui 魏惠王 (370-335 B.C.) of the Wei State as general. Being jealous of Sun Pin's ability, he enticed him to Wei by underhand means and broke his leg. Chun-yü K'un 淳于髡 of the Ch'i State, who happened to be in Wei on a mission, secretly brought the crippled Sun Pin to Ch'i to serve his sovereign Prince Wei 齊威王 (378-343 B.C.). Ch'i later launched a campaign against Wei under Sun Pin's command. He, riding a cushioned chariot, directed the operations and crushed the Wei army. Still later, when Wei attacked the Han State, the latter solicited Ch'i's help. Sun Pin sent a Ch'i force under the command of T'ien Chi 田忌 to march toward Ta-liang 大梁, the capital of Wei. P'ang Chüan who was leading the invading force in Han quickly withdrew back to Wei to engage the Ch'i threat. Sun Pin who reckoned that P'ang Chüan, his former schoolmate and now arch enemy, would arrive at Ma-ling-tao 馬陵道 at nightfall. He ordered that the trunk of a big tree be partly chopped off and be written on the surface of the smooth side: "P'ang

Chüan will die under this tree." When P'ang Chüan arrived, he was ambushed and to avoid being captured, he slashed his own throat under the tree. So Sun Pin wreaked his vengeance on him by his superb strategy.

Reputed to be the mentor of Su Ch'in, Chang I, Sun Pin and P'ang Chüan, Kuei-ku Tzū was considered as the "Father of Strategy." Who he was nobody knew for sure. The *Catalog of the Taoist Canons* 道藏目錄 says: "Kuei-ku Tzū's name is Wang Hsü who lived at the time of Duke P'ing (reign 557-532 B.C.) of the Chin State." 鬼谷子姓王名詡晉平公時人 He allegedly taught a school of disciples in his mountain retreat. He was said to have written the book *Kuei-ku Tzū* 鬼谷子 named after himself. Some people said it was written by Su Ch'in because Su Ch'in liked to talk about *chüan* 揣 (conjecture) and *mo* 摩 (groping) which are the topics of two chapters in the book. *Kuei-ku Tzū*, which is mainly on dialectics useful to the itinerant politicians of the Warring States period but contains also significant hints for devising strategy, consists of 17 chapters: 1. On Development and Closure 捭闔; 2. On Reaction and Response 反應; 3. On Internal Solidarity 內捷; 4. On Closing and Breaking Cracks 抵巇; 5. On the "Flying Catch" 飛箝; 6. On Opposition and Collaboration 忤合; 7. On Conjecture 揣篇; 8. On Groping 摩篇; 9. On Verbal Power 權篇; 10. On Strategy 謀篇; 11. On Decision 決篇; 12. On Fulfillment of Words 符言; 13. On the Seven Arts of Secret Tallying 本經陰符七術; 14. On Natural Development 持樞; 15. On Assistance 中經; 16. On Rolling the Pill 轉丸 (lost); and 17. On Theft 祛篋 (lost).

The text of *Kuei-ku Tzū* is archaic

and ambiguous. The best annotations to it are provided by T'ao Hung-ching 陶弘景 (A.D. 451-536) of the Liang dynasty, a Taoist scholar, who lived in retirement on Chu Ch'u Mountain 句曲山. He turned down an invitation of Emperor Wu Hsiao Yen 梁武帝蕭衍 (A.D. 464-549) of the Liang dynasty to be his Minister but the Emperor consulted him frequently on important affairs of state so that he acquired the sobriquet of "Minister in the Mountain." 山中宰相 Kuo P'o 郭璞 (A.D. 276-324), a scholar of great learning and an exponent of the doctrines of Taoism of the Chin dynasty, wrote the following poem in praise of Kuei-ku Tzū:

青溪千餘仞，
中有一道士，
借問此阿誰，
云是鬼谷子。

On the green brook in hills leagues high
There lives an aged Taoist sage.
Who is this lone recluse? ask I.
Kuei-ku Tzū lives in hermitage.

I have translated the essential ideas in *Kuei-ku Tzū*, deleting irrelevances, obsolete thoughts, Taoist mysticism and superstitions:

On Development and Closure

The sage observes the development and closure (operations) of the *yin* (negative force) and *yang* (positive force). He knows the key to life and death, deliberates and plans on the beginnings and ends of myriad things, comprehends the reasoning of the human mind, sees the signs of all changes and controls the key to them. Changes are endless but each has its outcome. There are the negative and positive forces, gentleness and hardness, opening and closing,

shrinking and stretching. The sage holds the key to all these.

In dialogue the sage would slightly refute the other party's words and point out his discrepancies in order to make him speak the truth. The purpose is to get at his intent. The sage, however, conceals his own motive of profiting from his revelation. Speaking out, the sage expresses his mind; keeping silent, he hides his thoughts. In the former case he indicates agreement and in the latter, dissent. What the other party says may or may not meet with his approval. The sage finds out his design and sees if he can agree with it or not.

The mouth is the doorway to the heart and the heart is the master of the spirit. Intent, wish, joy, desire, thought, worry, wisdom and design find their expression in the mouth. The sage can speak about man, the family, the nation and the universe — about things so small as without interior or so big as without exterior.

On Reaction and Response

Look back to know the past; go over matters on hand to see the future; look back to know the yore; go over the circumstances to see the present; look back to know the opponent; go over your words and deeds to see yourself.

If the rationale of an action or inaction, a falsehood or truth does not apply at present, look back to old times to find out why. There are matters whose rationale may be found by looking back to the past and may apply at present after going over its development.

When the other party speaks, he is active; when you listen in silence, you are inactive. Listen to the other party's words and deliberate upon them.

If you disagree with what he says, question him and he will have to respond.

Be calm when you listen to the other party's words, examine the issue, discuss a myriad matters, differentiate between the positive and negative effects. These may not be all related to the issue in question, yet you may get an inkling of it.

If you want to know a person's mind, probe deep into it; evaluate his ability, and investigate his intent. Your doing so is like matching tallies.

Knowledge begins with knowing yourself and then knowing other people. When two people know each other well, they are like a pair of soles (which swim together, each providing one eye); at sight they are like light and shadow. In discerning each other's ideas they are like the loadstone and needles or the tongue and roast.

If you do not have a preconceived plan, you won't be able to use other people properly, nor manage affairs skillfully. You do not know other people nor the way to use them.

On Internal Solidarity

Get intimate with people with virtue, or partisanship, or wealth and goods, or jewelry and the fair sex.

Use your counselors' advice to make inroads or decamp, to fraternize with or alienate someone, to approach or keep away from, to seek or wish for.

Before you talk on an issue, keep it secret. When you plan, be systematic.

Deliberate carefully whether your ideas will win approval or not. Speak clearly of the advantages and disadvantages involved to help a person make firm resolutions.

Your strategy should be presented

in time to fit into a person's planning.

If your strategy is unsuitable in any way, it is unworkable. You have to consider the circumstances and make necessary changes.

He who is adept at making changes will examine the geographical positions and contours, know Heaven's way, be familiar with the changes of the four seasons and make the demons and deities follow the *yin* and *yang* principles.

If your plan doesn't correspond with reality, you don't know reality thoroughly. If it corresponds with reality but won't work, it is outwardly relevant but inwardly at variance.

He who is far away and yet close to you must have private relationship with you; he who is nearby but alienated from you must be at variance with you at heart.

A plan that has been brought to your attention but you won't use probably doesn't fit your purpose. A plan that you have discarded but seek to retract proves effectual in the course of time. As days go by and a plan is unusable, it is because its execution would not turn out well. On the contrary, if you hear of a matter far away and wish to make use of it, it is because it fits your purpose, or it will help you make up your mind. It is well said that if you don't know a matter thoroughly and proceed to talk about it, you will meet with disagreement. But if you get the crux of a problem, you will get the right strategy to cope with it.

If you want to get close to a person or thing, use inside influence; if you want to get rid of a person or thing, use outside influence. If you know the inside and outside of an affair, you

know the Way. If you have foresight, you can resolve doubt.

On Closing or Breaking Cracks

At the sight of the sign of a crack, stuff it up. If it is caused by a blow from outside, resist that blow. If it breaks itself, stop it. If it is slight, mend it immediately. If it is beyond repairs, break the whole thing and rebuild it.

When the sage sees the sign of disorder, he suppresses it with the enactment of law. In time of peace he removes irregularities; in time of turmoil he breaks the structure and rebuilds it.

In time of peace lie low and abide your time. In time of turmoil devise your strategy to cope with it.

On the "Flying Catch"

Use seductive words to subject a person to a "flying catch." Such words are now similar, now different, (depending upon the circumstances).

The "flying catch" may be baited with riches and valuables, pearls and jade, silk, ornaments or the fair sex, or made through inducement after an assessment of the person's strength, or by setting up the circumstances, or upon an opportune time.

Before you approach a sovereign, assess his power and capability, observe the trend of events, consider the size of his territory, the barriers and communications of his land, his population, his wealth and his relations with other feudal lords, with whom he is close and from whom he is estranged, and whom he likes or dislikes. Also find out his concerns and worries, his opinions and his likes and dislikes. Plan to talk about what he deems important and use words of the "flying catch" to get hold of him.

Before you approach a common person, assess his intelligence, ability and power as the key to knowing him. Agree with him and get close to him by fraternizing with him and propagating his ideas — this is the way to get him in a “flying catch.”

When applying the “flying catch” to an individual, use your fame and influence to win his allegiance, put a firm hold on him and verify the truth of his words. Catch him and order him to do this or that, or direct him to go in various directions at your will.

On Opposition and Collaboration

Collaborate or stand against according to strategy; change around or join together, depending upon circumstances. Repeatedly fall out and cooperate as occasions demand.

Nobody in the world is always basked in honors; nothing in the world is ever exemplary. The sage is rarely with you and yet he is always with everybody. He rarely hears anything and yet he hears everything. He who can accomplish his purpose and skillfully execute strategies is entitled to be a leader.

A strategy may apply here but not there; it cannot be workable everywhere. There are often obstacles. Stand in opposition here or there; put up resistance there or here — that is strategy.

Only one who is sagacious and insightful can rule. Only one who labors mentally and thinks deeply can trace the causes of events. Only one who can get to the heart of matters and can see things through will achieve fame. One who has generalship but no benevolence and graciousness cannot be a commander. One who is faithful and honest but lacks the power of discrimination won't know people. The

way of opposition and collaboration requires assessment of one's own ability, knowledge and intelligence, strong and weak points, and capabilities and shortcomings. Only then can one advance or retreat, or “criss-cross” (act freely).

On Conjecture

Ancient sages who used skillfully their wisdom in Empire affairs would weigh the power of the Empire to see with whom it was invested and how much and conjecture the minds of the feudal lords. If power is not carefully weighed, you won't know who is strong and who is weak, who is powerful and who is powerless. If minds are not closely conjectured, you won't know the secrets and the portents of change. What is meant by “weighing of power?” It means measuring the size of the territory, the ability of the ruler's counselors, the quantity of possessions, the size of the population, surpluses and shortages, the impregnability and vulnerability of geographical locations and formations, the strengths and weaknesses of strategies, the relationship between the sovereign and his officials, (who are scrupulous and who are not?), the level of knowledge and wisdom of the visiting politicians, the auspicious and inauspicious natural phenomena, the relations with the feudal states, (which can be used and which cannot?), and the minds of the people, (who support and who oppose the sovereign? Who are peaceful and who are rebellious?). If you know all these, you are weighing power well.

In studying a person's mind, go to him when he is in the happiest mood and satisfy him with what he desires. When he is in high passion, he cannot hide his secrets. Or go to him when

he is in the greatest fear and intensify what he hates. When he is in great hatred, he cannot hide his secrets. His passions and desires show changes to come.

A person's mental changes are shown in his looks. You see his secrets hidden in his heart by observing his appearance and actions. This is the way to fathom his thoughts and feelings.

In planning for the state you should carefully weigh power. In talking with a prince you should conjecture his mind where his plans, concerns, passions and desires are. You will then hold in your hands elevation or degradation of personnel, importance or insignificance of happenings, weal or woe, and success or failure of undertakings.

Though you may know the principles of the ancient kings and the strategies of sages and wise men, you won't be able to fathom the secrets of a prince, if you do not conjecture his mind. This is a basic step of strategy and the key to persuasion.

One who can conjecture others' minds foresees things. It is most difficult to foresee things.

On Groping

Groping is conjecture in action. Inner correspondence (compliance with the person's thoughts and wishes) is the purpose of conjecture. If conjecture is done in a proper way, that way must be hidden and subtle.

Grope for a person's wish, probe deep for it and you will be able to get it and comply with it.

Having done so, take your leave as if you had done nothing. Do like one who fills up a hole on the ground secretly and departs quietly without leaving a trace behind. In this manner you make an accomplishment but you would

involve yourself in no trouble.

Your groping is inconspicuous but the accomplishment is highly conspicuous.

One who groped well in ancient times was like a fisherman who throws his fishing line with a hook and a bait into deep waters and is sure to catch a fish. If he performed a task, nobody knew how he did it. If he commanded the troops in a battle, and won, nobody knew wherein his formidability lay.

The sage lays down his strategy in the dark but accomplishes the task in the light.

Groping may be done quietly, properly, in joy or anger, in the glow of fame or success, in honesty or trust, or through bribery or flattery. The sage uses all these means successfully.

Planning should be done thoroughly and secretly. Talk only with those who understand so that you can work with them without misunderstanding.

When you talk to a person, what you talk about should be related to his thoughts, and he will listen. It is said that things of a kind go together. If you run toward a fire with a bundle of faggot, the dry ones will first catch fire and burn. If you pour water on level ground, the damp spots will get the water first. Just as things respond kind to kind, inner thoughts respond similarly to groping from outside.

Therefore grope for a person of your own kind. If he is unresponsive, grope for him through his desires. If he is still unresponsive, then go yourself alone. Do whatever you think is proper without delay. When you have done it, take no credit for it and you won't get involved in its consequence. If you act like this, you will achieve success after success.

On Verbal Power

A speaker speaks to a person to get his thoughts. He embellishes and elaborates his words to probe deeper into his mind to get what is missing. He replies to a question sharply to gloss over the subject. But when he makes a point, he speaks comprehensively. His comprehensive argument is as good as evidence.

Two persons argue over and over again because they reject each other's opinions. They raise intricate arguments to justify their objections. Objections should be reasoned out meticulously like fishing in the deep.

A sycophant speaks flatteringly to show his "loyalty"; a flatterer speaks broadly to show his wisdom; a braggart speaks decisively to show his courage; a grievous man speaks contemplatively to win trust; and a quiet man speaks in self-contradiction and yet in seeming triumph.

The mouth is the speech organ; it (expresses) and conceals feelings and thoughts. The ears and eyes are aides to the heart; they see and detect good and evil. The ears, eyes and heart co-ordinate their functions and work together advantageously.

He who knows logic and sequence of things will not be confused by profuse talk, nor perplexed by wild talk, nor be put in a precarious position by changes.

The ancients said: Let a mouth eat but not talk because there are many taboos and superstitions. Many tongues wagging melt gold because they tend to make distortions.

It is human nature that when a person talks he wishes to be listened to and when he performs a task he wishes

to be successful. The man of wisdom knows that a fool's strength is better than his own weakness and he uses a fool's skill rather than his own incompetence for that way he won't fail. He speaks of a person favorably to show his good points and won't speak of him critically to disclose his weaknesses.

Speech may be classified into five kinds: sickly, fearful, grievous, angry and joyous. Sickly speech is spiritless; fearful speech is distraught and purposeless; grievous speech is depressed and incoherent; angry speech is impetuous; and joyous speech is defused. Each kind may be used skillfully at the appropriate time.

When you talk with a man of wisdom, show your wide knowledge; with a man of knowledge be eloquent; with a man of eloquence, be brief and to the point; with a man of high position demonstrate your influence; with a rich man dwell upon noble and glorious things; with a poor man point out the benefits; with a man of low standing be humble; with a man of courage show your boldness; with a fool be sharp and clear.

When you talk with an intelligent man, you can easily convince him. When you talk with an ignorant man, try to teach him.

Speech varies. Things are changeable. Talk on the same subject logically and sequentially without digression and confusion throughout the day.

Your memory should be retentive, your hearing clear, your intelligence brilliant and your speech surprising.

On Strategy

Before you devise a strategy, find out first the issue and the cause. Then lay down three alternatives preferably

with no obstacles and with precedents in ancient times.

When the men of the Cheng State went to mine jade, they brought with them a compass for determining directions. Estimating ability, assessing possibility, and conjecturing thoughts and feelings are like the use of a compass. Men who have the same aspirations or problems and cooperate may succeed together; men who have the same interests but work separately may fail separately; men who have the same evil design and work together may fall together; men who have the same evil design but work separately may fail separately. Generally speaking, men who can benefit each other will come together whereas men who may harm each other will go apart.

A wall breaks down at its cracks; a tree snaps at its joints for these are their weak points.

Change grows out of an event. An event calls forth planning. Planning aims at strategy. Strategy needs deliberation. Deliberation leads to discussion. Discussion decides on action. Action removes irregularities and weaknesses. The removal of irregularities and weaknesses leads to legislation. Legislation governs similar occurrences. Similar occurrences follow the same rules. All measurements follow the same numerical system.

A benevolent man who takes light of material things cannot be tempted with gain but can be solicited for donations. A brave man who takes light of risks cannot be intimidated with hardships but can be asked to face danger. A wise man who is adept at calculation and reasoning cannot be deceived by fraudulence but can be convinced with reason and be urged

to achieve merits. This is the way to use the three types of men — of benevolence, bravery and wisdom.

A fool is easy to deceive; an evil man is easy to frighten; an avaricious man is easy to tempt. Deal with them respectively according to the nature of the matter concerned.

One builds oneself up strong after betraying many weaknesses; one turns righteous after being penalized for repeated offenses; one accumulates surpluses after suffering from shortages again and again. This is a natural tendency.

If a person is close to you in appearance but estranged from you at heart, remove his inner inhibitions. If a person is close to you at heart but estranged from you in appearance, remove his outward inhibitions.

Convince a person who is in doubt; agree with a person who has seen evidence; ask a person to sign a statement of his commitment; complete a task which is about done; weigh a matter by its shortcomings; dismiss a person for his obnoxiousness.

Investigate a person to intimidate him; point out the dangers to influence a person; show a person evidence to convince him; tell a person about omens and realizations to make him believe; put a person under your wings to isolate him; and create confusion to get a person perplexed.

It is more effective to use a strategy privately than officially, in close alliance than in private, of a surprising than a common type. Present to a sovereign a strategy that springs surprises but in your talks with the ministers relate the strategy with their personal interests.

One who discloses information of his organization to outsiders alienates

himself from the organization. One who talks about the internal matters of an organization, of which he is an outsider, invites trouble to himself. Do not force upon a person what he does not like. Do not teach a person what he does not want to learn.

Go along with a person on what he likes but avoid doing or talking about what he does not like.

Perform a task for a person secretly but when the task is completed, make it known, giving him credit. If you want to get rid of a person, let him do whatever he wants to. (that is, give him enough rope to hang himself.)

Trust a man who looks mediocre and honest. Employ a man if you know his mind, but don't employ him if you don't know.

It is advantageous to control others but not to be controlled. A man of power controls others. He who is under control of others is so disadvantaged as even to lose his life. A sage works secretly but a fool works openly.

It is easy to serve an intelligent man but difficult to serve an unintelligent man. Therefore he who is unintelligent is heading toward failure or falling into danger. Only an intelligent man can save him from failure or danger.

Use intelligence where no one knows or sees. Use it for yourself on matters in which you have a choice; use it for others on matters in which you have no choice.

On Decision

Decision is made on doubt. People wish weal but hate woe. Dig on the facts and decide with no doubt or bias. If you remove the gain in a decision, it will be rejected. Then it is necessary to put in some surprise (to win approval).

A decision that has no advantage but

only disadvantage will not be accepted and it may cause estrangement. Such a decision results from incompetence in the process of deciding.

Decide after examining what is past, conjecturing what is to come and comparing with what usually happens.

On Fulfillment of Words

Eyes should see clearly; ears should hear distinctly; the mind should think intelligently. With the world's eyes you see everything; with the world's ears you hear everything. With the world's mind you perceive everything. With such faculties your comprehension can never be blurred.

The exercise of virtue implies no categorical rejection. An assent presupposes precaution. A rejection closes the approaches. The summit of a mountain may be looked up to; the bottom of an abyss may be fathomed but divine light and virtue, pure and tranquil, cannot be measured.

A reward should be truthfully conferred; a penalty justly meted out. They will be evidence to those who witness them while those who do not witness them will be influenced too.

On Natural Development

Natural development such as birth in spring, growth in summer, harvest in autumn and hibernation in winter should not be interfered with. Your interference may be successful but it will ultimately fail.

On Assistance

Assistance to relieve distress or to cope with a crisis can be rendered by men of eloquence and virtue. Assistance rendered to whoever is under arrest or in distress will win his gratitude. Men

of eloquence are resourceful and able to give gracious aid and men of virtue are magnanimous and correct in action. Assistance to men of low standing will win not only their gratitude but also their service.

When you see the form, you know the appearance. When you see the body, you know the visage. When you hear the sound, you detect the note. Allay enmity, avert strife, make pertinent remarks, win others' hearts and uphold justice.

Many were the strategists of penetrating insight, ingenious planning and overwhelming eloquence in ancient China. It will take too much space to tell about even the outstanding ones. I shall tell about two — Lu Chung-lien 魯仲連 (3rd century B.C.) and Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮 (A.D. 181-234) — to show how the ancient strategists operated.

Lu Chung-lien, a native of the Ch'i State of the Warring States period, was an itinerant strategist of high moral character. In 260 B.C. the Ch'in general Po Ch'i 白起 (died 258 B.C.) inflicted a frightful defeat upon the army of the Chao State at Ch'ang-p'ing 長平, northwest of present-day Kao-p'ing-hsien 高平縣 in Shansi Province, burying alive some 40,000 war prisoners in spite of their surrender and besieged Han-tan 邯鄲, the Chao capital. Prince An-li 魏安釐王 (reigned 276-243 B.C.) of the Wei State, sent General Chin Pi 晉鄙 to lead a force to assist Chao in its fight against Ch'in. But the general was so afraid of the strong Ch'in army that he ordered his men to halt at Tang-yin 蕩陰 and advance no farther. The Prince then sent General Hsin-huan Yen 新恒衍 of the Liang Principality to urge Chao to surrender and honor the Ch'in Prince as Emperor. When Lu Chung-lien heard

this, he was shocked. He immediately went to see Lord P'ing-yüan 平原君 (died 250 B.C.), Minister of State of Chao.

"What do you plan to do?" he asked.

"What do I dare to plan?" Lord P'ing Yüan replied. "We lost as many as 40,000 lives and now Han-tan is in a siege which we cannot lift. The Prince of Wei has sent General Hsin-huan Yen to urge us to honor the Ch'in Prince as Emperor. The man is here. What do I dare to plan under the circumstances?"

"Where is Hsin-huan Yen? I will upbraid him and send him back."

Lord P'ing Yüan introduced Lu Chung-lien to General Hsin-huan Yen. When Lu Chung-lien saw him, he did not speak. The general said, "I see that most visitors who remain in this besieged city are currying favor from Lord P'ing Yüan. But judging by your looks, you may not. However, would you tell me why you still stay in this beleaguered city?"

Lu Chung-lien said that he had not thought of his personal safety in staying in this beleaguered city and he had come to see the general for the purpose of helping Chao. He then vehemently denounced Ch'in for its wanton aggression and massacre of people and for ranking its officers and men by the number of heads they had cut off in battle, for employing its warriors by deceit and for enslaving its subjects. He declared that if Ch'in should succeed in usurping the throne and imposing its tyrannical rule over the land, he would not hesitate to plunge into the Eastern Sea and drown himself rather than live as its subject."

"How are you going to help Chao?" asked Hsin-huan Yen.

"I am going to get Liang and Yen to help. We know that Ch'i and Ch'u

are sending troops to its rescue."

"Yen may help. Now I am from Liang. How can you make Liang help?"

"Liang does not see the danger of the Ch'in Prince usurping the throne. If it does, it will help Chao."

"Haven't you seen some ten servants servilely attending to a master? Why? Because they are afraid of him who is superior to them in power and wisdom."

"Alas! Do you think of Liang and Ch'in as servant and master?"

"Yes, I do."

"If you think so, I can make the Ch'in Prince cook your Prince in a cauldron and cut him up in pieces!"

"Ah! That sounds horrible. How can you make the Ch'in Prince cook and cut up my Prince?"

"Believe me, I can."

"What's the danger if the Ch'in Prince declares himself Emperor?"

"If the Ch'in Prince becomes Emperor, he will among other things exercise his power over all the officials of the feudal states, retain those whom he considers as loyal to him and dismiss those whom he considers as not, keep those whom he likes and expel those whom he dislikes, bestow their daughters and handmaids to be concubines and wives of his nobles and occupy the palaces of Liang. By then how can the Liang Prince live at ease? And how can you, sir, enjoy princely favor and trust as you do now?"

Hsin-huan Yen was rudely awakened to the grave probability, especially to himself.

"I am impressed with your foresight. I will leave Chao at once and never talk of honoring the Ch'in Prince as Emperor again."

After his departure and with the arrival of forces of other states to the

rescue, Chao stiffened its resistance against Ch'in. Ch'in withdrew its army and the siege was lifted.

The Lord of P'ing Yüan sought to reward Lu Chung-lien for his service but Lu Chung-lien said, "What I sought to be more worthy than other itinerant politicians is to ward off aggression, iron out differences and eliminate turmoil but want no compensation; otherwise, I would be no different from a middleman." He bid farewell, left Chao and never returned.

Some twenty years later Lu Chung-lien's strategy settled another knotty incident. A general of the Yen State occupied Liao-ch'eng 聊城 of the Ch'i State. The inhabitants of Liao-ch'eng slandered him to the Prince of Yen. The general dared not return to Yen for fear of punishment. T'ien Tan 田單 (3rd century B.C.), a general of Ch'i, besieged the city for more than a year but could not retake it in attack after attack, suffering great casualties. He was in a dilemma as to what to do, when Lu Chung-lien came to his assistance. Lu Chung-lien wrote a letter to the Yen general, tied it to an arrow and shot it into the city. It said:

"I have heard that a wise man won't go against the times or foresake an advantage; a brave warrior won't fear death or disgrace his own name; a loyal official won't prize himself above his sovereign. Now you, General, vent your momentary wrath, depriving the Yen Prince of your service. This is disloyalty. You will cause your own death and the fall of Liao-ch'eng but fail to demonstrate your prowess to Ch'i. This is no bravery. You will fail in your defense and ruin your own fame and won't win the admiration of posterity. This is no wisdom. For your

sake I would suggest that you return to Yen with all your chariots and arms. Your Prince will be happy to see you return with all chariots and arms intact and the people of Yen will be happy to see you return, safe and sound, as if they saw their own parents returning. You may talk to your people, hollering and gesturing, to convince them of your merits. You may assist your Prince in lording over the officials, look after the people's livelihood, institute reforms and improve customs and mores. In this way you will win honor and fame. Or, do you want to leave Yen and come east to visit Ch'i? You will be enfeoffed with a piece of demarcated land; you will be as rich as Tao¹ and Wei.² For generations your descendants will inherit a nobiliary title which will last as long as the Ch'i State lasts. This is an alternative. Both these alternatives will bring you fame and bounteous gains. Will you consider them and make a choice?"

The letter suggesting two alternatives put the Yen general in sheer dilemma for neither could save his life. If he returned to Yen even with his chariots and arms intact, he feared that he would be subject to death penalty for his recalcitrance. But if he surrendered to Ch'i, he feared that he would be arrested and executed too for he had inflicted enormous casualties upon the Ch'i troops during over a year's siege of the city. Finding no way out, he said to himself, "I had better kill myself than be killed." and he committed suicide. When his suicide was known, the defenders of Liao-ch'eng lost heart while the besiegers stormed the city with fresh vigor and fierceness. The city fell and the populace was massacred.

When T'ien Tan returned to Ta

Liang, the Ch'i capital, he memorialized to the Prince that Lu Chung-lien be ennobled for his remarkable strategy. But the latter left Ch'i to live in seclusion, refusing to accept any reward for his service.

Li Po 李白 (A.D. 701-762), the great Tang poet, wrote the following poem in praise of Lu Chung-lien:

齊有偶儻生，
魯連特高妙，
明月出海底，
一朝開光曜，
却秦振英聲，
後世仰末照，
意輕千金贈，
願向平原笑，
吾亦澹蕩人，
拂衣可同調。

There was an unconventional man
in Ch'i

Who had unusual wits and strategy.

He was a full moon, rising from the sea,
Spreading its light as brilliant as can be.
He thwarted Ch'in's advance, winning
acclaim.

Posterity all glorifies his name.

He spurned a thousand ounces of
fine gold,

Eyeing the Lord with a grim, broad
and bold.

I too am unconventional and free.

Leaving, I'll also wave my sleeve as he.

Chu-ko Liang of the Three Kingdoms period (A.D. 220-265) lived in retirement at Lungchung 隆中, about seven miles west of Hsiangyang 襄陽 in Hupeh Province, tilling the soil for a living. It was a time of turmoil when the Imperial power of the Han dynasty was in decline and ambitious politicians and warlords rose to contend for supremacy. Notable among them at this time were Ts'ao Ts'ao 曹操 (A.D. 155-220) who had overthrown the strongest warlord Yüan Shao 袁紹 (died

A.D. 202) and had been appointed Prime Minister, wielding great power under the weak reigning Emperor Hsien 漢獻帝 (reigned A.D. 189-220) of Han and Sun Chüan 孫權 (A.D. 181-252), Governor of the Principality of Wu. Liu Pei 劉備 (A.D. 162-223), a distant member of the Imperial House, sought to rejuvenate the declining dynasty. Newly defeated by Ts'ao Ts'ao, he had then only a small following and a small territory. On the recommendation of Hsü Shu 徐庶 that Chu-ko Liang was a very capable man, he went personally to Lungchung to visit thrice the recluse at his thatched cottage. Only on the third visit on a snowy winter day did he succeed in seeing him.

He asked Chu-ko Liang: "The House of Han is in decline and unscrupulous officials are usurping Imperial power. The Emperor is in disgrace. Notwithstanding my lack of virtue and my weakness, I wish to champion the Imperial cause. Though I am deficient in wisdom and strategy, I have been bold and audacious. My ambition is still on the rise. What do you, sir, think I should do?"

Chu-ko Liang replied: "Since the time of Tung Cho 董卓 (died A.D. 192), many heroes and brave men have risen, occupying prefectures and counties. Compared with Yüan Shao, Ts'ao Ts'ao was far less popular and had a much smaller following. But he was able to defeat Yüan Shao and had grown from weakness to strength. His dominance is due less to circumstances than to planning and strategy. He now commands an army of one million strong and bosses the feudal lords around in the name of the Emperor. You cannot contend with him yet. Sun Chüan is the third generation in occupation of the territory

east of the Yangtze River. He holds a strategic position and has the support of the people and the service of men of integrity and ability. You should make him an ally but not try to overthrow him. Chingchow 荊州 has the Han 漢 and Mien 沔 valleys in the north, extends to the sea in the south, adjoins the land of Wu 吳 in the east and links with Pa 巴 and Shu 蜀 (now Szechwan) in the west. It is a region of strategic importance but its incumbent leader is incapable of holding it. You have a Heaven-sent opportunity to take it. Do you want it? Yichow 益州 is a stronghold with vast fertile fields and rich natural resources. Emperor Kao Tsu 漢高祖 (of Han) used it as a base to build up his Imperial power. Its incumbent Governor Liu Chang 劉璋 is ignorant and weak. Chang Lu 張魯 is a threat to him in the north. Its people are well-off and the country is prosperous. But unfortunately it is in a precarious position. Its men of intelligence and ability yearn for a brilliant ruler. Since you are a member of the Imperial House, are known for your truthfulness and justice and are employing heroic and worthy men in your service, you are in a position to put under your control both Chingchow and Yichow with their natural barriers, foster good relations with the Jung tribes in the west, pacify the I and Yüeh natives in the south, form an alliance with Sun Chüan and institute administrative reforms. Should there be a political upheaval in the Empire, you send a capable general to lead a force from Chingchow into Wan 宛 and Lo 洛 while districts you yourself lead an army from Yichow into the Ch'in valley 秦州 (present-day Shensi). Won't the people welcome you with food and drink? When that

happens, you will establish your Imperial dominance and rejuvenate the House of Han."

Liu Pei was impressed with his wide knowledge and superlative strategy and persuaded him to come out of retirement to help him. He appointed him Minister of State and consulted him everyday on matters of the moment. His sworn brothers Kwan Yü 關羽 (died A.D. 219) and Chang Fei 張飛 (died A.D. 220) were displeased at his intimacy with Chu-ko Liang whom they considered as young and inexperienced, and they did not hesitate to express their displeasure to him. He, however, said to them, "I got K'ung-ming 孔明 (Chu-ko Liang's courtesy name) as a fish gets water." Kwan Yü and Chang Fei knew what he meant and complained no more. And Chu-ko Liang soon won respect from Liu Pei's followers for his quick comprehension, seasoned opinions and masterly strategies.

Considering the primitive means of communication and difficulties in the assemblage and transmission of information at the time, it was amazing that Chu-ko Liang knew the conditions of the widely scattered Empire and the personality of each of the leaders so well. He foresaw the division of the Empire in three kingdoms and the prolonged struggle for supremacy. He knew that Liu Pei could not fight alone against Ts'ao Ts'ao and Sun Chüan and he laid down the policy of Liu Pei allying with Sun Chüan against Ts'ao Ts'ao, which he consistently carried out. Presumably after crushing Ts'ao Ts'ao, Liu Pei in his judgment could then seek the removal of Sun Chüan and unify the Empire under his rule.

Liu Pei was at the time of enlisting Chu-ko Liang's service under the wings

of Liu Piao 劉表 (died A.D. 218), Governor of Chingchow, and a distant kinsman of the Imperial House. After his death, his younger son Tsung 琮 succeeded him as Governor. His elder son Ch'i 琦 whom he did not favor was away as Prefect of Chianghsia 江夏 to avoid palace intrigue. Taking advantage of the unsettled situation in Chingchow after Liu Piao's death, Ts'ao Ts'ao launched a campaign against Chingchow. Liu Tsung immediately pledged allegiance to Ts'ao Ts'ao but Ts'ao Ts'ao continued his campaign into Chingchow for the purpose of crushing Liu Pei. From Fanyang 樊陽 Liu Pei fled southward to Hsiakow 夏口. He and his retinue were overtaken by Ts'ao Ts'ao's advance units in pursuit and decimated. Upon arrival at Hsiakow Chu-ko Liang said to Liu Pei, "The situation is critical. Please send me to seek help from General Sun."

Sun Chüan was at this time at Ch'ai-sang 柴桑, observing the fight between Ts'ao Ts'ao and Liu Pei. He knew that the elimination of either one of them would be advantageous to him for then he would have only one left for him to deal with. He would not want to get involved at this stage when Ts'ao Ts'ao was at the apex of his power and was commanding a big and strong army. Chu-ko Liang realized that it would be extremely difficult to persuade Sun Chüan to help but he volunteered for the mission.

When Sun Chüan heard of Chu-ko Liang's visit, he already sensed the purpose of his mission and his mind was set on turning him down.

And before Chu-ko Liang could see Sun Chüan, his high officials and counselors would see him first and would challenge him to a debate on whether

it was wise to give aid to Liu Pei at this time, humiliating him in the process. Chu-ko Liang calmly and eloquently defended Liu Pei's righteous cause of fighting for the House of Han against the domineering Ts'ao Ts'ao who usurped the Imperial power, and upbraided them for their disloyalty and cowardice in counseling their master to submit to a traitor and aggressor.

When he gained admittance to an audience with Sun Chüan, he said, "Amidst the turmoil in the Empire Your Highness called up your army to guard the territory east of the Yangtze River while Governor Liu of Yüchow (Liu Pei was then Governor of Yüchow 豫州) rallied the people south of the Han River. You both are bent on contending with Ts'ao Ts'ao for supremacy in the Empire. Ts'ao Ts'ao has now broken down his major opposition and has brought the situation fairly under control. With his victory over Chingchow his prowess rings loud in the four seas and all other heroes in the Empire are put in an unfavorable position. That's why Governor Liu has fled over here. In coping with the present situation Your Highness should first measure your own strength. If Your Highness can rally the people of Wu 吳 and Yüeh 越 to contest with Ts'ao Ts'ao, sever relations with him at an early date. If Your Highness thinks that you are no match for him, why don't you lay down your arms and submit to him? As it is now, Your Highness outwardly bow to him but inwardly you are in a dilemma. Your Highness cannot make a resolute decision in a critical situation. Disaster will befall you in no time."

"In your reasoning why doesn't Governor Liu submit to Ts'ao Ts'ao?"

Sun Chüan asked.

Chu-ko Liang replied, "Governor Liu is a descendant of the House of Han and is admired for his brilliant talent by heroic men who flock to him from all parts of the Empire. How could he submit to Ts'ao Ts'ao? His recent reverse was just bad luck."

Sun Chüan declared emphatically, "We cannot submit to Ts'ao Ts'ao with all the territory of Wu and a hundred thousand men. Our mind is made up. Governor Liu is the only one we can fight side by side with against Ts'ao Ts'ao. But Governor Liu has just suffered a defeat. How can he continue fighting?"

Chu-ko Liang said, "Though Governor Liu suffered a defeat at Ch'ang-fan 長阪, his warriors who have come back to him and naval veterans under the command of Kwan Yü total ten thousand and troops of the Yangtze and Hsia River valleys under the command of Liu Ch'i 劉琦 also total about ten thousand. Ts'ao Ts'ao's forces have come a long way and are exhausted. I heard that his light cavalry covered more than three hundred *li*³ day and night in pursuit of Governor Liu. They are like 'a spent arrow that cannot penetrate thin white silk.' The *Canon of War* 兵法 says: 'This will cost the defeat of a top general.' 必蹶上將軍 Furthermore, the northerners are not familiar with naval operations. Meanwhile, the people of Ching-chow have sided with Ts'ao Ts'ao under duress; they are not with him at heart. If Your Highness dispatches several tens of thousand troops under the command of a veteran general to fight side by side with Governor Liu's forces, I am sure we can defeat Ts'ao Ts'ao's expeditionary force and it will retreat

northward. By then Chingchow, Wu and the North will become triple powers. Success or failure depends upon Your Highness's momentary decision today."

Sun Chüan was impressed with his insightful analysis of the situation and bold strategy to cope with it. He ordered his generals Chou Yü 周瑜, Ch'eng P'u 程普 and Lu Shu 魯肅 to lead a naval force of thirty thousand strong to fight side by side with Liu Pei's force against Ts'ao Ts'ao's armada at Red Cliff on the Yangtze River in Hupeh Province. Ts'ao Ts'ao's armada was set on fire and defeated by the smaller, lighter and more easily maneuverable ships of Wu.

In accordance with Chu-ko Liang's grand strategy, Liu Pei in later years successfully took possession of Chingchow and Yichow and founded the Kingdom of Shu Han 蜀漢 in contest for supremacy with the Kingdom of Wei 魏 founded after Ts'ao Ts'ao's death by his son Ts'ao Pei 曹丕 (A.D. 188-227) who eventually usurped the Han throne. On his deathbed in A.D. 223 Liu Pei confided his son Ch'an 禪 to Chu-ko Liang's care with the proviso that if the young man was found incapable, he assume power himself. After his demise, Chu-ko Liang continued to serve faithfully his weak-kneed and sensual Lord, managing all affairs of the state, and to carry out his established policy of allying with Wu and campaigning against Wei. To fortify the southern border of his kingdom he launched an expedition to subdue the border tribes, seeking in particular the submission of the recalcitrant chieftain Mêng Huo 孟獲. By his superb military strategy he captured and released Mêng Huo seven times until the latter bowed to his intelligence, magnanimity and prowess. After pacifying the southern

tribes, he launched campaign after campaign against Wei. His two memorials to the throne explaining why he wanted to launch the campaigns are literary master-pieces of historical importance. He was compelled to cut short his first campaign because of difficulty of transport of army provisions. To remedy the situation he invented in A.D. 234 the device of "wooden oxen and running horses" 木牛流馬 as a means of transport. How it was made is not known today. It was probably wooden oxen and horses on wheels and tracks as carriers, perhaps the first train invented. He also invented an automatic bow that could shoot several arrows in succession. He too devised the battle formation of Eight Dispositions 八陣圖 with rocks southwest of present-day Feng-chieh-hsien 奉節縣 in Szechwan Province, which was most intricate and intriguing. Years later after his death a Wu general Lu Hsün 陸遜 who led a campaign into Shu Han (now Szechwan) came to inspect it. He ventured into the maze of rocks and found it difficult to get out. For his mechanical inventions and mathematical calculations Chu-ko Liang is considered as a strategic and tactical genius. In his last campaign against Wei in A.D. 234 he fell sick and died in camp at Wu Chang Yüan 五丈原 on the south bank of the Wei River 渭河 southwest of Mi-hsien 郿縣 in Shensi Province.

Tu Fu 杜甫 (A.D. 712-770), the great T'ang poet, wrote the following poem that succinctly and truthfully describes Chu-ko Liang's career:

蜀 相

丞相祠堂何處尋，
錦官城外柏森森，
映階碧草自春色，
隔葉黃鸝空好音，

三顧頻煩天下計，
兩朝開濟老臣心，
出師未捷身先死，
長使英雄淚滿襟。

The Premier of Shu

Where do you find the Premier's
hallowed shrine?
Outside Brocade Town where dense
poplars grow.

New-grown green grass of spring on
stone steps shine.
Orioles midst tree leaves warble high
and low.
Lord Liu came thrice to seek his grand
design.
Two reigns he served with heart and
soul divine.
He died before the grand campaign
was won,
Evoking heroes' tears e'er and anon.

Taking a Part in That Blank Utopian Space: On Poetry in Chinese Painting

Ping-Hui Liao
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“Does the essay,” Geoffrey Hartman asks Georg Lukacs, “and the literary essay in particular, have a form of its own, a shape or perspective that removes it from the domain of positive knowledge to give it a place beside art, yet without confusing the boundaries of scholarship and art?”¹ In other words, is it possible, or rather legitimate to look upon the literary essay, as a work of art, as an art genre? Hartman’s answer is positive, and the examples he lists are the ironic Romantic aesthetes and, as one may well predict, Jacques Derrida, the author of *Glas*. In that hardly readable text, Hartman argues, Derrida turns commentary into literature, rejecting its referential, subordinate, or commentating function as traditionally assigned, by interweaving philosophical discourse, figurative elaboration, and literary criticism. As a consequence, the commentator’s discourse can no longer be neatly or methodologically separated from that of the author: “the relation is contaminating and chiasmic; source text and secondary text, though separable, enter into a mutually supportive, mutually dominating relation” (206).

Indeed, Hartman pushes the argument

so far as to suggest that commentary or interpretation may “cross the line and become as demanding as literature” (201), and even that there is no single or original author (204). In disputing the secondariness of criticism, Hartman is not unlike his colleague J. Hillis Miller, who in a Promethean gesture hands the power of the host (author) over to the critic and thereby bridges the gap between criticism and literature.² What is outside, alien, distant, and different is revealed to be inside, present, approximate, and similar: in a reversal the “secondary” piece of writing turns out to be “primary,” “parasitic” “central.” However, the deliberate efforts to elevate commentary to the level of literature, oftentimes through tactful examinations of the etymology or subtle interrogations of the method and logic, have always indicated that commentary is a different form of writing which has to be shown by means of reappropriation to be similar to literature.³ Even though Derrida is able to interanimate the texts by Hegel, Nietzsche, and Genet by inner quotations and “surrealist” wit, his attempt to turn commentary into an unpredictable and unstable art genre is so contrived as to depend upon the sense

that it is outside literature and is the contaminating other: it asserts itself as a latecomer that usurps, breaks the text open, supplements, and resides in that textual space.

In the following pages, I would like to focus on poems in some Chinese paintings to take up the issue that concerns Hartman, namely, whether commentary is a work of art. Instead of addressing the topic on the relationship between these sister arts, as many scholars have done, this paper proposes to deal with the lyric commentary as an art genre and to delve into the philosophy behind that sort of practice, so that we can have a better understanding of what constitutes Chinese poetics. Of course, in the Western painting and literature, there is also a long tradition of responding to the same icons to construct equivalent emblems or to create parodic images, but those emblems and images are practically separable entities, they are nothing interior to the icons. In the case of Chinese painting, as I would argue, the text is never closed; it is often interwoven with poems in the most active reactment of the actions depicted or recreation of the creation of the landscape.⁴ The commentary, whether by the painter himself or by another literate, frequently matches or complements the painting, and as another artistic form not only fills in the blank misty utopian space but helps disclose the cultural and political subtext, which is always suppressed or sublimated in the narcotic act of pen-brush painting.⁵

Tracing the development of poetry (or lyric inscriptions) in Chinese painting, the Ch'ing scholar and critic Wang Shih-cheng (王士禎), better known as Wang Yu-yang (王漁洋), said in his book entitled *Ts'an-wei* (蠶尾集 *Tail of the*

Silkworm) that lyric inscriptions were rare in the Six Dynasties, and it was not until the T'ang dynasty when Tu Fu (杜甫) wrote poems on paintings on pinetree, horse, hawk, etc. that poetry on and in painting begins to shed lights on painting and achieve its own brilliancy.⁶ Six hundred years before him, the Sung poet Su Shih (蘇軾), also known as Su Tung-p'o (蘇東坡), wrote, "to savor Wang Wei's poetry, one has the feeling that there is so much of pictorialness in his poetry that it may well pass for painting; to perceive his painting, one also has the feeling as if confronting a poem that speaks in language of images."⁷ It seems that under the hands of Tu Fu and Wang Wei lyric inscriptions or poems started to illuminate paintings without losing their respective glamor. Hardly the ones to originate the tradition of lyric inscriptions on Chinese painting, which as Hsu Fu-kuan (徐復觀) suggested can be dated much earlier back,⁸ Tu Fu and Wang Wei nevertheless have served as models for later literati, particularly those of the Sung and Yuan dynasties, in which commentary as an art genre came to flourish. Mainly a poet aiming at technical perfection, Tu Fu expressed his concerns about the aesthetic effectiveness of the paintings commented on, and often he was able to bring out what was left unsaid in the paintings. A poet and a painter himself, who would respond to his own painting in the form of verbal images, Wang Wei tended to address the conception that seems to inspire both the painter and the spectator; rather than explicitly talking about the subject that is depicted, as Tu Fu did, he often composed a poem which is equally evoking yet about something that is not in the painting.⁹

As the tradition of lyric inscriptions developed further, Wang Wei's way of responding was picked up due to the influence of such literary men as Su Shih, Huang T'ing-chien (黃庭堅), Chao Pu-chih (晁補之), etc. who were not only poets but painters themselves. Chao, for instance, wrote in his postscript to Li Tsun-yi's (李遵易) painting of fish:

Try to forget the physicality of things in approaching them, then you will find the objects disclosing their thingness and even shapes. . . . It is within the conception (意) that you can get a picture of the object, not in the exterior form. It is not the hand, but the spirit, that creates the result of either brilliance or dullness. Nothing cannot be accomplished with the spirit and conception.¹⁰

To be able to listen to the heart, not to the mind, is the key to a thorough grasp of the true shape of the object, and to respond is to go beyond the given. This is also a theme that had already been treated by the greatest art historian of T'ang dynasty Chang Yen-yuan (張彥遠), who categorized fine arts into five classes: natural (自然), spirited (shen 神), marvellous (妙), dexterous (精), detailed and faithful (謹細). The concept of "natural effortlessness" is important in later painting criticism,¹¹ but the basic idea of these literati is to promote the awareness of the true essence of things that is not trammled by reason and technology. In other words, one has to be able to discard the desire to go after the objects in pursuit of verisimilitude, the technical perfection, so as to paint well. Consequently, poet-painters in the Sung and Yuan dynasties learned more from Wang Wei than from Li Shih-hsun (李思訓) and Tu Fu on the subject of painting and lyric inscription.

However, Tu Fu's dynamic response to the painting in terms of what the painter attempts to express in conception and in spirit is cherished and imitated by the later scholar-painters.¹²

It was in the Sung dynasty that we begin to see an increasing amount of scholars' painting and lyric inscriptions on the painting. As Susan Bush has correctly observed, there is a new type of painting emerging in this period — the art that scholar-artists sponsor or produce is closely associated with poetry and calligraphy.¹³ Since most of the scholar-painters are friends, it is only natural that they would respond to each other's poetry or painting in pen-brush — another poem or painting. Critics have often regarded this as a phenomenon of an elite polite culture, thinking that these literati only indulge themselves in that kind of social gathering, which in essence have nothing to do with the practice of everyday life. Despairing of the political situation of the time, these critics would argue, scholar-painters of the Sung dynasty turned to painting and calligraphy, as if their frustrations could be forgotten or even transformed into another controllable, intelligible, literate and serene form. It seems to me these critics have failed to notice in the narcotic act of painting or writing a utopian impulse for order or even an aesthetic yet carnivalesque gesture toward a rupture of the hegemony that does not allow any dialogue.¹⁴ An example of this kind of ridicule and mockery is the letter of Mi Fei (米芾) to the prime minister of the state Tsai Ching (蔡京) in which he drew a small yacht between the lines which actually expressed his exile and subsequent pains. Mi successfully juxtaposed the pleasure (which is summed up by the yacht) and pain (uttered by the

words on the page) to displace reality by transforming it into a textuality of irrationality that not merely pokes fun at the silly business of exile but even produces a stupified laughter in Tsai, the chieftain of persecutors of the literary population.¹⁵

In a curious yet telling way, the yacht (and by inference painting) serves as a metonymy for freedom and rejection of the mundane world Mi Fei desired, but it is so depicted as to be caught in between the lines about unreasonable sufferings Mi was subject to and perhaps could never escape. The yacht, as an aesthetic object, appears to be innocent and beautiful, but in fact (when put side by side with the words) it is shown to be profoundly utopian in character — except that it is a repressed form of utopian impulse. It embodies the power not only to scoff at but to criticize the idiocy of the dominant culture. To distance oneself from reality and to criticize society from the vantage of aesthetic transformation was definitely the move Mi and many other literati made when they realized that it was a way to ridicule the reality without risking their life: it is the “tactic” to withdraw so as to develop one’s own power against the world outside, to revolutionize through ideological and semiotic transformation without placing oneself in peril. As Michel de Certeau points out, an art of the weak is to use the *nowhere* to achieve a tactic mobility.¹⁶ The poet-painters create the blank misty tactic utopian space in the landscape painting, so that they would not get caught in the proper space of reality and politics. By the same token, they prefer to reappropriate poetic discourse of the earlier writers, to engage in that subtle intertextual practice of parody or interior

polemic, so as to avoid using the available words, which constitute and are constitutive of the dominant ideology of the time that they cannot respect. In other words, the blank space or the withdrawal from society provides an opportunity for the expansion of civility otherwise impossible.

Although Mi Fei and Su Shih are said to be the major advocates of lyric inscription on painting, there are hardly any complete pieces left to ensure that they did “initiate the intertextual practice of inscribing poetry to illuminate, by its elevated feelings and untrammelled thoughts, and complement the painting.”¹⁷ Due to the lack of extant work by these two poet-painters, we will have to turn to some later painters, particularly those of the Yuan dynasty. My first example is Wu Chen (吳鎮), who was evidently familiar with the tradition handed down by Wang Wei, Su Shih, and Mi Fei. Like Su Shih, Wu Chen expressed his love and devotion to budding and young bamboos in poems as well as in paintings, though he was best known for his fondness of plum-blossoms — Mei-hua tao-jen (梅花道人 the Plum-blossom Taoist). Wu often would depict subjects that reflect purity and simplicity, and as a person, he detested materiality and mediocrity; in the words of Osvald Sirén, “There was nothing that he despised more than vulgarity, outward show or ostentatiousness.”¹⁸ In the inscription to his painting “Rural Pavilion” (草亭詩意圖), he wrote:

依村構草亭，
端方意匠宏。
林深禽鳥樂，
塵遠竹松清；
泉石供延賞，
琴書悅性情。
何當謝凡近，

任道慰平生。

A rural pavilion along the village,
Designed to suit the sublime conception.
Deep in the woods, birds warble happily,
Far from the city, with only bamboos
and pinetrees around, O serenity;
Fountain across the rocks to please the eyes,
Lute and books to delight the mind.
How wonderful to abandon worldly cares,
and be free for the rest of my life.

The utopian impulse is made more manifest by the lyric accompanying the painting; the last poetic couplet brings forth what might otherwise be not so explicit in the painting: to discard what is earthly and close, so as to be free and comfortable. In a sense, the painting is like the poetic pavilion that carries out the sublime conception, the utopian impulse, ideal of hope. Yet, as a spatial artifact, it is the Keatsian urn that has a tendency to shut off the human element — temporality; consequently, it has to be interrupted by another art genre, which is not only inside the painting but close to it in terms of medium and tool, to reveal its limitations in maintaining self-completeness or independency.

Thus, in the first couplet, the spatial construction of the rural pavilion along the village is subordinated to the human conception sublime. In a reversal, the next couplet celebrates the taking over of the space by the animals, birds, and trees: they enjoy themselves in the deep forest, not contaminated by dust and worn by worldly cares. However, it is the interaction between the space and the residents, be they tree or birds, and the delight of that interaction that fascinate the poet-painter who has

decided to cast worries aside and be a part of that utopian space. In the center of the painting (see p. 11), there are two men sitting in the pavilion engaging in what appears to be two Taoists discoursing, the Pure Talk (清談). The dialogue going on in the painting is further developed as the lyric inscription takes up the blank margin on the left and forms a dialogic relationship to the painting, to comment on it, to make the voice (or conception) heard.

In his poem on one of his bamboo paintings, Wu wrote, "Leaning on clouds and rocks, how unrestrained! / Virtuously knotty, uncompromising, regardless of human relations; / If you are curious about who the author may be, / Look for the ancient scholar in the woods" (倚雲傍石太縱橫，霜節渾無用世情，若有時人問誰筆，橡林一個老書生). Again, the poet admired the freedom bamboos seem to enjoy, and he expressed that envy in terms of a repressed recognition of the ideal of hope that one can be as carefree as the bamboos. Ironically, he put himself into a dialogic situation in which he could no longer disavow his penmanship and totally withdraw from human relations — he must be subject to the rule of the world as well, to be known and valued, in contrary to his wish to be "unrestrained." In this way, the poem adds another dimension to the painting and manifests its inability to be freed from human contamination; and interestingly enough, the lyric also provides a dialogue between the painter, who sees himself as an ancient scholar (another dialogue with his own true identity), and the reader. For the author of the painting to be revealed, the poet-scholar has to step out of the woods or to be interrupted in that autonomous space; this is the situation implied in the

Wu Chen, Rural Pavilion



poem, and it is a position that the painting has to confront: it must be disrupted and supplemented by commentary.

Certainly, commentary as literature in Wu Chen's paintings is frequently to be found. On another painting entitled "Fisherman Hermit by the Tung-t'ing Lake" (洞庭漁隱圖), the lyric inscription reads: "Evening breeze visits the Tung-t'ing Lake, / Tossing the boat as if it were a fallen leaf on the middle of the water, / The rowboat stays steady, / The grass along the banks puts on its new green garment, / I only seek sea-perch, not fishing fame" (洞庭湖上晚風生, 風觸湖心一葉橫, 蘭棹穩, 草衣新 (一作輕), 只釣鱸魚不釣名).¹⁹ Though the painting (see p. 13) is praised, there is certain dispute over the poem in the painting as to the question whether it fits into the landscape with regards to the human action depicted.²⁰ What is found unsatisfying about the poem is that it does not describe vividly the actions involved in the painting; it does not even talk about the fisherman, and worse still, the meaning of the poem is ambiguous. However, this sort of criticism seems to look upon the lyric as subordinate to the painting — it should tell something about the painting. In addition to this host/parasite fallacy, Wu also committed a referential fallacy, thinking that the painting must designate some specific human action. As a matter of fact, the fisherman is placed in the margin, and there is a large body of water before him. In the painting, it seems nature, rather than the fisherman, that plays the dominant role. Not only the pinetrees but even the grass are taller and more prominent than the human being — the fisherman is beginning to row toward the expanse of misty utopian space

open up to him, which occupies one half of the space in the painting and does not seem to cease to exist though blocked off: it is a metonymy for the still larger utopian space for the poet-painter and for the audience, which will go beyond the limitation of space. The mountain, where the fisherman-hermit may reside, is only half revealed in the painting; we cannot see the summit, or rather the other side of it, except through imagination and recreation of that space. It is proper, therefore, for the lyric inscription to be ambiguous about any possible human activity, except by making a hint that the poet and hermit does not need fame.

In the upper corner of the painting, there is another blank space beyond another mountain and river. One may as well assume that there will be other blank spaces like that as long as the hermit maintains that state of mind. In the center of that blank space, Wu "playfully" (as he tells us) inscribed the lyric quoted above. Just like many of his lyric inscriptions the poem attempts to situate the landscape in time as well as in interior space. First of all, it suggests that the boat is set against the evening breeze and perhaps the twilight. Still lingering on the lake to catch some sea-perch, the fisherman-hermit apparently has a long way to go before getting home. Yet, that does not bother the fisherman-hermit; he keeps the boat steady and appears to enjoy the breeze (a word that shows up twice in sequence) and the sight. The grass along the banks is fresh and green; and as metonymic of the hermit's being a part of nature his rain-cloak made of grass and leaves also embodies that carefree freshness. Completely immersed in nature, the fisherman-hermit aims at nothing outside; he does not seek fame. Here, Wu made

Wu Chen, Fisherman Hermit by the Tung-t'ing Lake



a reference to the famous story about a scholar faking withdrawal from society so as to make it known to the emperor that he is indeed a virtuous man desiring no materialistic gains or fame. Through the lyric inscription, not only the natural but cultural contexts are brought back to illuminate the painting, which in itself seems to be so innocent and unworldly. By highlighting the natural elements and ridiculing the sham hermit culture (and by implication, hypocrisy), Wu Chen used the blank space to bring out what cannot be said through painting or by the painter in him.

Because the inscription is also in penbrush, it does not become the opposing other; rather, it fits into that utopian blank space, and in a different use of the same penbrush expresses something different about the utopia, the nowhere, constructed by painting in an inevitably autonomous space that has to be isolated from the world and the painter. In resorting to the same pen to unfold historicity and temporality of the images that reside in a realm of timeless spatiality and simultaneity, Wu, like many other Chinese poet-painters, interweaved two art genres generally regarded as fundamentally different modes of expression, representation, and cognition. The result is a taking *part* in the frozen space and a revitalization of its capacity of semiotic and ideological transformation — to turn the seemingly “natural” images into “cultural” ideologemes that contest and put into question the linguistic, cultural, and social conventions and space which engender that articulation. It seems that in his gesture of symbolic resistance and act of altering the world that is helplessly corrupt the poet-painter so renders his utopian impulse as to make it

take *place* in the pastoral space free from war, famine, inequality, and misery — the nowhere of mountain and water.²¹ That *taking place* or semiotic transformation is nevertheless in the form of *dis-placing*, a negation of the available space, a distancing from the immediate presence, and a *re-placing* of the space proper: the “Not-Even-Anything Village” (无何有之鄉) or the field of “Broad-and-Boundless” (廣莫之野) for the mundane world.²²

Ironically, however, the *dis-placing* has to be placed in an almost autonomous space: the canvas. As an aesthetic object and a spatial construction, the painting tends to lose its power to be temporally dynamic and disruptive. Its merit of distancing from the world, its capacity to transform the present locale, and its potentiality of refining the social taste will be contained in space and that in the form of unarticulated passivity, unless it declares itself as incomplete, open, and contaminatable. To resist the tendency to be silenced, as frequently the case with poet-painters in the Yuan and Ming dynasties,²³ the painting has to find a voice, to engage in a dialogue, to invite the audience to take *part* in that utopian space. What could be more appropriate than to take a *part* of the painting and write (and without destroying its beauty!) on the very blank space? Indeed, it has become so common a practice that by the Ch'ing dynasty a scholar has to warn his contemporaries not to randomly add words to the painting to the effect of defacing it.²⁴ Yet, even Kao Chien himself is not consistent about this. He seems to think that there are paintings that are not subject to the rule; if one can bring in a lot of good lyric inscriptions unto the painting and in

more-than-presentable calligraphy, "the more the better," because, as he admits, this is "rather an exception, since the one knows something about the Tao" (160). According to another scholar of the time, Ch'ien Tu-sung (錢杜松), it is sometimes surprisingly beautiful and elegant when the calligraphy invades the space of the landscape. His remarks on the inscriptions on painting are succinct and deserve to be quoted in full here:

As for inscriptions on painting, it seems scholars of the T'ang dynasty tend to make them tiny and hidden either under the tree or in cleft of a rock; almost without exception, those who cannot do good calligraphy, make their inscriptions on the back of the canvas. It is until Sung dynasty that painters and responders begin to put down the dates, but the inscriptions are still petite and no more than one line. The only exception is Su Shih, who would write in big characters, and at times compose three or five line inscription. Su actually anticipates the Yuan poet-painters in terms of lyric inscriptions. In the Yuan dynasty, Chao ch'eng-chih is the only one who follows scholars of the T'ang dynasty. When [Ni] Yun-lin inscribes on the painting, he puts down not only the title, inscription, but poem(s), often-times up to one hundred words and more. Although literati of the time like to take up too much space of the painting, even to the extent of invading the proper space of the landscape, their calligraphy is so marvellous that it only adds to the painting an unexpected cuteness, rather than defaces it. Literati of the Ming dynasty are largely followers of those of Yuan.²⁵

In the brief account of the development of inscriptions on painting, there is not a word about why that kind

of practice should be cultivated in the Sung and particularly Yuan dynasties. For many scholars, the rise of lyric inscriptions simply suggests the blending of poetic elements into the realm of painting. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (董其昌), for instance, wrote, "Generally speaking, poetry uses mountain and river as its landscape, while painting resorts to poetry for the same kind of vision. . . . Once inscribed, features of the landscape are exhausted and open up to the audience."²⁶ This is an echo of Su Shih's comment on Wang Wei's poetry and painting, which we have touched upon. However, it does not really tell us why the lyric inscriptions should be there within the painting and should increase in number after the late Sung. In my opinion, the development of lyric inscriptions and lyric criticisms has much to do with the penbrush as the narcotic and its possible ideological transformation embedded in the act of *dis-placing*, the invention of fictional utopian space.

Now, let's return to the boat drawn by Mi Fei that gets caught in the world of words. The boat is brought in to fill in the blank space between the lines that are about the author's frustration in performing his service to the country. We know that at one time Mi was very anxious about what he could do for the poor; then, witnessing the corruption going on around him, he began to lose that Confusian zeal for the world: "he indulged then in painting and calligraphy," according to the biographer.²⁷ Mi's painting, of which the boat is but a synecdoche, echoes Confucius' remark, when despairing of putting his doctrines before the world, that he would like to be in self-exile and drift away into the ocean or places uncivilized by boat. The boat is, hence,

significant in not only bringing back the theme of disillusionment, but in negating the society which is totally corrupt. And it is a further ridicule of that kind of serious attempt to improve or even make sense of the world as never given up on Confucius' part; his drawing points, rather, to the absurdity of being placed in the office, only to discover the out-of-place-ness of that office, which is represented as consisting of nothing but empty words and silly regulations. By inserting the boat into the empty space between the lines, Mi in fact reduced the words about his pains to comic nonsense. It is, in other words, a carnivalesque act that renders reality into a semiotic farce. The empty space between the lines, therefore, is used to deride what is in the reality; it is a *dis-placing*, or in Laotzu's words, making use of the space where there is nothing. In Chapter XI of *Tao te ching*, Laotzu observes,

三十輻共一轂，當其無，有車之用。
埴埴以爲器，當其無，有器之用。
鑿戶牖以爲室，當其無，有室之用。
故有之以爲利，無之以爲用。

We put thirty spokes together and call it a wheel;

But it is on the space where there is nothing that the usefulness of the wheel depends.

We turn clay to make a vessel;

But it is on the space where there is nothing that the usefulness of the vessel depends.

We pierce doors and windows to make a house;

And it is on these spaces where there is nothing that the usefulness of the house depends.

Therefore just as we take advantage of what is, we should recognize the usefulness of what is not.²⁸

It is in the emptiness that the use, or

rather, the disruptive power resides. For the poet and painter to turn away from society while in a "decreative-recreative" move to re-form it, he must take advantage of the blank space and produce out of that a utopia, a nowhere.²⁹ Of course, this is also Chuangtzu's advice to Huitzu to plant the tree in the nowhere and not to be obsessed with the notion that the tree should serve human purpose only. As he says in a later chapter, "All men know the use of the useful, but nobody knows the use of the useless!" (人皆知有用之用，而莫知無用之用也)³⁰

It is significant that Laotzu employs the empty space, the valley, the empty bellows (V and VI), to describe the Tao, and constantly advocates the doctrine, if we may call it one, of "emptying" one's appetite and obsession with self, reputation, knowledge, virtue, or power, which is operated on the basis of oppositional logic. The following quote from *Chuangtzu* should make this point clear:

道隱於小成，言隱於榮華；故有儒墨之是非，以是其所非，而非其所是。欲是其非而非其所是，則莫若以明。物無非彼，物無非是。自彼則不見，自知則知之。故曰：彼出於是，是亦因彼，彼是方生之說也。……方可方不可，方不可方可；因是因非，因非因是，是以聖人不由而照之於天。亦因是也，是亦彼也，彼亦是也。彼亦一是非，此亦一是非，果且無彼是乎哉？彼是莫得其偶，謂之道樞；樞始得其環中，以應無窮。

What does the Way rely upon, that we have true and false? What do words rely upon, that we have right and wrong? How can the Way go away and not exist? How can words exist and not be acceptable? When the Way relies on little accomplishments and words rely on vain show, then we have the rights and wrongs of the Confucians and the Moists. What one calls right the other calls wrong; what

one calls wrong the other calls right. But if we want to right their wrongs and wrong their rights, then the best thing to use is clarity. Everything has its 'that,' everything has its 'this.' From the point of view of 'that' you cannot see it, but through understanding you can know it. So I say, 'that' comes out of 'this' and 'this' depends on 'that' — which is to say that 'this' and 'that' give birth to each other. . . . Where there is acceptability there must be unacceptability; where there is unacceptability there must be acceptability. Where there is recognition of right there must be recognition of wrong; where there is recognition of wrong there must be recognition of right. Therefore the sage does not proceed in such a way, but illuminates all in the light of Heaven. He too recognizes a 'this,' but a 'this' which is also 'that,' a 'that' which is also 'this.' His 'that' has both a right and a wrong in it; his 'this' too has both a right and a wrong in it. So, in fact, does he still have a 'this' and 'that'? A state in which 'this' and 'that' no longer find their opposites is called the hinge of the Way. When the hinge is fitted into the socket, it can respond endlessly.³¹

To illuminate all "in the light of Heaven," according to a later scholar and commentator Ch'eng Hsuan-ying (成玄英), is to resort to "no use" as the use (不用而寓諸庸). It is interesting to note that Chuangtzu employs empty space in the middle of things, the socket (環中), to describe how oppositions are deconstructed and revealed to embody difference within themselves already. The uselessness of the empty space is to open up a new possibility of responding to the world in such a way that the subject will not impose its logic on the object. We also find this sort of use of useless empty space in Zen discourse in which the disciple's obsession with "this"

(Buddha's words, the Scripture) or "that" (the master's utterance or the disciple's own comprehension of the text) is disrupted by the master in a gesture that points to the nowhere, the nonsensical empty space. This tendency to direct the disciple's attention to the empty space, the void of selfhood (*sunyata*), actually is already there in Hui-neng's (慧能) hymn expressing his realization of the Buddha nature:

菩提本無樹，
明鏡亦非台；
本來無一物，
何處惹塵埃？

Originally there was no *Bodhi*-tree,
Nor was there any mirror.
Since originally there was nothing,
Whereon can the dust fall?³²

Often, the Buddha nature is said to be inexpressible, except by gesture pointing to the empty space, or by violent knocking (or even mutilating) to enable the disciple to realize the existence of that empty space, as the proper space of knowledge, which is represented by the body, particularly the head or thumb, is knocked or cut off.

What remains unquestioned is the reason why these philosophers should resort to the empty space when confronting a situation that is hardly manageable by the means available — morality, knowledge, scripture, etc. It seems that by constructing the empty space, the Tao, Laotzu is able to point out the limitations of Confucian view of the world and furthermore limitations of the world. The construction of that empty space is a political act, though subtle and seemingly irrelevant, to criticize the world present or the ideology that perpetuates existence and acceptance

of that world. Consequently, Laotzu and Chuangtzu would speak of either the ancient sages that are de-formed or the utopian space which is *dis-placed* — a nowhere. The purpose of using that empty space is not only to call into doubt the propriety of any everyday practice or doctrine available, but to, it seems, re-form the world. In the case of painting, the empty space is so used as to problematize the primordially of social presence or human existence. As we have seen in Wu Chen's painting on the Fisherman-Hermit, it is the empty space that prevails and subsumes human existence. In a way, the empty space opens up new possibility of beginning, cultural reconstruction, or dissolution of the selfhood — an emptying of the solipsistic space, the "fasting of the mind" (心齋) as Chuangtzu says Confucius once told Yen Hui (顏回).³³ This "fasting of the mind" is to empty one's obsession with the self and to become one with nature through the so-called "Transformation of Things" (物化). In talking about the Sung painter Ma Yuan (馬遠), Osvald Sirén remarks that "The artist suggests infinity not only by utilizing empty space as a potent factor in the composition, but also as a reflection in the soul of man."³⁴ The infinity is evoked as the design reaches out into misty space where forms disappear, as Sirén tells us. However, in some of Ma Yuan's paintings, the theme is no less about an implied critique of human presence (and hence society) than about infinity. One example is his "Spring Walk along the Mountain Path" (山徑春行).

In this painting, a literary man, followed by his boy carrying the lute, is heading toward the mountain path. Not only the human action is not

completed but the utopian space on the mountain top is not delineated: the man is just on the way to his Edenic place far removed from society. As the editor of *Selections from Palace Museum* points out, Ma is famous for his peculiar way of delineating only one corner, a tiny bit, of something actually much larger (馬一角). On the foreground of the painting, we see two bulky willow trees with their branches and leaves swinging along with the wind; there are probably plum trees which begin to blossom luxuriantly. Apparently, spring is in the air, and everything is renewing itself. There is one bird still perching on a branch of the willow tree, while another is flying away. The movement of these two birds seems to parallel the boy and the scholar: one is lagging behind in the mundane world, while the other soaring up to the sky, the empty but vast space ahead. The gaze of the boy focuses on his master, just like the bird on the tree on its mate (?) which is leaving; the scholar, however, looks up at the bird that is winging its way to another place where it will not be disturbed. Both the bird and the scholar look into the future and the ideal place, which disappears into the misty space (see p. 24). Toward the right-hand corner of that misty space, there is a lyric inscription which reads: "Touching the sleeves wild flowers dance on their own / Avoiding human presence the birds cut short their song and remain mute" (觸袖野花多自舞, 避人出鳥不成啼).

What is peculiar about the lyric is that it contrasts two effects human presence makes on nature. The wild flowers' dancing to the sway of the scholar's sleeve is delightful, although there is slight undertone of intrusion.

Ma Yuan, Spring Walk along the Mountain Path



This line is completely from the scholar's viewpoint, and he does not seem to realize that by touching his sleeves those wild flowers, which have enjoyed their natural and free life for a time, would fall to the ground and die. He takes pleasure in watching the flowers dropping and dancing with the wind. But even in this line that is heavily centered on human perspective, there are such words like "wild" (野), "largely" (or "in great amount") (多), and "self" ("on their own") (自) that indicate independency of the flowers even at the very moment they suffer the human infringement and are decimated. As a consequence, the irony is self-evident that for a human being to return to nature (Tao), nature suffers from that kind of interaction. Yet, in the painting, which is actually able to resemble what is there in nature, the human intrusion is not so obvious. Indeed, it appears that man fits into nature perfectly and in a harmonious way. As an able scholar points out, the medium of poetry (language) associates signifier with signified chiefly through social convention, while that of painting (icon) invites a natural association because its elements closely model the object world.³⁵ It is only through the lyric inscription that we are given the chance to sense that irony and the poet-painter's criticism of human perspective and human interests in, if not exploitation of, nature (often in the name of Taoist meditation or self-purification).

The next line of the lyric is even more obvious in suggesting the unwanted human intrusion into nature on the bird's (and nature's) part. The human presence immediately startles the bird to take wing, leaving its company and its up-to-then quiet habitation. In a mimicking to the scholar, who retreats to nature to

meditate, the bird wings its way to another undisturbed setting. In the lyric, words such as "avoiding" (避) and "away" (出) perhaps are related to human sufferings from politics and war: exile and endless removal to avoid persecution or being slaughtered. Yet, it is the bird that is frightened and can hardly utter its fear or probably frustration: it produces no pleasing sound, it is not even able to cry out loud. Can the language of painting speak for the bird and articulate that voice of protest? It seems most unlikely to happen. Therefore, the poet has to supplement the picture by drawing from the language spoken by human beings to criticize them for making the world what it is. In employing the medium of painting, the painter, like the scholar depicted, wants to enter into the utopian space, to withdraw from the society. However, he also realizes that iconic images in the painting are nothing innocent, even though it attempts to be "natural" and independent of human situation as well as historicity. Painting, particularly that which is constructed around the nowhere of mountain and water, has a tendency to contain its own semiotic transformation and render itself into totally powerless, spatial, aesthetical, autonomous, and therefore ideologically irrelevant. It seldom *cries out* loud to the spectators about the objects of the painting that are persecuted, exiled, disturbed, or destroyed.³⁶ Consequently, it needs to be voiced and responded to in words that reflect the cultural context and the condition which enables that utopian images and empty space to speak to us visually. One wonders if it is the case that Ma Yuan so designed the composition that the scholar and the bird

on the branch form a beautiful symmetry, as they look upward in almost the same gesture at the bird which soars into the air and points to, on the one hand, the distant place undisturbed (which is characterized as empty misty space,) and on the other, the words about the reason why the scholar should retreat to nature only to disrupt the peace in nature. Could it be that the lyric, which is ironic in tone, is there to occupy a corner of that empty space and to disrupt the spatial autonomy so as to speak about human exile and misery that the painting tries to displace and forget, but apparently cannot?

Of course, the use of that useless utopian space to bring back the political and cultural re-formation only partially accounts for the phenomenon that after the late Sung there should have emerged so many poet-painters engaging themselves enthusiastically in putting calligraphy on to the painting. A major reason may have to do with the fact that those lyric inscriptions are pictorial. Indeed, a large proportion of Chinese characters are ideograms, and it is by now a common knowledge that they as are so, since some Western scholars, such as Ernest Fenollosa, Ezra Pound, and even Jacques Derrida continue to propound that sort of view.³⁷ Any Chinese can easily point out the inadequacy of these scholars' notion of Chinese writing as chiefly consisting of pictographic components or as largely "nonphonetic scripts," (hence as testimony of "a powerful movement of civilization developing outside of all logocentrism"),³⁸ by indicating that there are six categories of Chinese characters

(六書), of which the ideogram is but a minor one, and that a great number of Chinese words are equally symbolic as well as arbitrary in their formation: they are no more iconic and natural than their counterparts are in the West. However, to suggest that "Chinese writing tends to project the nature or quality of trace in writing better than any phonetic writing does and thus reveals language as a system of differential terms," and that "Nothing abides but writing; even the debasement of writing has to survive in writing," by drawing random evidence from Chinese painting and ancient texts, seems to be highly doubtful.³⁹ In fact, by incorporating writing into painting, Chinese poet-painters often make use of phonetic writing to speak for the "silent poetry" that, like the bird disturbed and yet unable to utter, is repressed, contained in the space, and has to be voiced. To insist, as Zhang does, that in Chinese painting writing and the seal-stamp "form an integral part of the finished picture" is blind to the fact that lyric inscriptions use the blank space of the painting to establish a dialogic relationship with the picture, which remains open to active responses and is in that sense never "finished" or even closed. If the writing on Chinese painting suggests anything about writing and text in general at all, it is not so much about "avenging itself the very moment it was debased" when it was represented to be "secondary," as about its power to disrupt and to criticize the attempt to be with the Tao and nature (and by implication being "primary," autonomous, self-so-complete).

NOTES

- ¹ Geoffrey Hartman, *Criticism in the Wilderness: The Study of Literature Today* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1980) 191.
- ² J. Hillis Miller, "The Critic as Host," *Critical Inquiry* 3 (1977): 439-47.
- ³ Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri C. Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1976) 158-59; Paul de Man, *Blindness and Insight*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1983) 102-41. Also, de Man's *Allegories of Reading* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1979) 3-19. The irony is that deconstructionists seem to pay more tribute to literary texts than to criticism, since they often read literature more closely than the formalists.
- ⁴ Erwin Panofsky, writes in his *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1955) 14, "The humanist. . . has mentally to re-enact the actions and to re-create the creations." Roman Ingarden characterizes this as "active reading" or "cocreative attitude," see his *The Cognition of the Literary Work of Art*, trans. Ruth Ann Crowley and Kenneth R. Olson (Evanston: Northwestern UP, 1973) 37-41.
- ⁵ David Musselwhite argues in his essay, "The Novel as Narcotic," 1848: *The Sociology of Literature*, ed. Francis Barker, et al. (Essex: U of Essex P, 1978) 207-24, that novels of the Victorian period take up the form of forgetting the real political issues by transforming them into romances. Here, I use the term, meaning displacing, transforming and forgetting the reality, which is rendered by the brush into another idyllic existence.
- ⁶ Quoted in Hsu Fu-kuan (徐復觀), *The Spirit of Chinese Arts* (中國藝術精神) (Taipei: Hsueh-sheng, 1966) 259-60.
- ⁷ *Anthology of Essays on Painting* (中國畫論類編) (Taipei: Ho-lo, 1975) I: 629.
- ⁸ Hsu 260. According to Chen P'i-hua (陳丕華), there are four categories of inscriptions on painting: comment (贊), lyric (題畫詩), painter's note (畫記), and textual criticism or postscript (畫跋). The lyric inscription as an art genre began in the Six Dynasties; see his Preface to *Anthology of Poetry on Painting* (題畫寶笈) (Taipei: Chung-hua shih-hua, 1985) 1-7.
- ⁹ Wang Wei's poems on his own paintings are no longer to be found; although there are some reported to be his, their authenticity remains suspect. For the poems, see *Complete Works of Wang Wei* (王右丞集箋註) (Taipei: Ho-lo, 1975) 530-47.
- ¹⁰ Hsu 382. 「然嘗試遺物以觀物，物常不能度其狀。... 巧拙繫神，而不以手。無不能者。」
- ¹¹ Susan E. Nelson, "I-p'in in Later Painting Criticism," *Theories of the Arts in China*, ed. Susan Bush and Christian Murck (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1983) 397-424.
- ¹² Ch'ien Chung-shu (錢鍾書) says in his "Chinese Poetry and Chinese Painting" (中國詩與中國畫), *Literary Collection in Honor of the Twentieth Anniversary of the Kaiming Book Company* (開明書店廿週年文集), ed. Ma Shu-lun (Shanghai: Kaiming, 1947) that Su Shih has a hard time praising Tu Fu, even though he knows Tu to be a great poet; Su is in temperament close to Wang Wei. However, Tu Fu's poetry is imitated by many poets.
- ¹³ Susan Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP) 3.
- ¹⁴ Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1981) 281-99.
- ¹⁵ *Chinese Painters in the Sung and Yuan Dynasties* (中國名畫家叢書一元之部) (Taipei: Wen-shih-che, 1984) 113. Hereafter abbreviated as CPSY.
- ¹⁶ *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: U of California P, 1984) 37.
- ¹⁷ CPSY 150.
- ¹⁸ *Chinese Painting* (New York: Ronald, 1956) III: 48.

- 19 Chen Ch'ing-kuang (陳肇光), *The Yuan Painter Wu Chen* (元代畫家吳鎮) (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1983) 147, suggests that the word should be "light" (輕), meaning the raincloak is light, while *CPSY* 255 transcribes it as "new" (新). Although "light" fits in perfectly with the rime scheme and seems to make much more sense, it appears in the painting that the word is likely to be "new."
- 20 Chen 147.
- 21 Richard Terdiman points out, in his *Discourse/Counter-Discourse* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1985) 76, that counter-discourse "materializes the counter-term which any dominant usage seeks to suppress. Its function is to project an alternative through which any element of the here-and-now may be shown as contingent, and thereby to subject the whole configuration of power within which it took its adversative meaning to the erosive, dialectical power of alterity." In Yuan dynasty, scholars are reported to be no better than beggars, and much poorer than a Yuan horse. As the intellectuals are persecuted and slighted, it is natural that they should turn to the ideal space as a parody of reality, as a counter-reality.
- 22 *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, trans. Burton Watson (New York: Columbia UP, 1968) 35.
- 23 According to a historian, even in the Ming dynasty, the scholar's life is constantly threatened; during the reign of Ming Tai-chu (明太祖), his subjects so fear for their life that they would kiss their wives good-bye when it dawns and it is time to go to meet the emperor. Historians have reported a lot of persecutions in the time and writers are sent to jails and slaughtered. See Wu Han (吳晗), *Biography of Chu Yuan-chang* (朱元璋傳) (Hong Kong: Longmen).
- 24 Kao Chien (高兼), *On Painting* (指頭畫說), quoted in Fu Pao-shih (傅抱石), *Chinese Theories of Painting* (中國繪畫理論) (Taipei: Li-jen, 1985) 160.
- 25 Fu 160. 「書之款識，唐人只小字藏樹根石罅。大約書不工者，多落紙背。至宋始有年月紀之。然猶是細楷一線，無書兩行者。惟東坡款皆大行楷，或有跋語三五行，已開元人一派矣。元惟趙，承旨猶有古風，至雲林不獨跋，兼以詩。往往有百餘字者。元人工書雖侵畫位，彌覺其雋雅。明之文沈皆宗元人意也」。
- 26 Quoted in *An Anthology of Writings on Aesthetics in China* (中國美學史資料編選) (Peking: Chung-hua, 1980) 484.
- 27 *CPSY* 113.
- 28 Arthur Waley, *The Way and Its Power* (New York: Grove, 1958) 155.
- 29 Wai-lim Yip says, in his "The Taoist Aesthetic," *New Asia Academic Bulletin* 1 (1978): 31, that "The Taoist consciousness, dispossessing to possess, decreating to create."
- 30 Watson 67.
- 31 Watson 39-40.
- 32 Fung Yu-lan (馮友蘭), *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, trans. Derk Bodde (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1952) II: 391.
- 33 Watson 58.
- 34 Siren II: 115.
- 35 Terence Diggory, "Painting the Speaking Subject," *Diacritics* 15 (1985): 16. About the subject, see also Wu Li-fu (吳蠡甫), *Study in the Theories of Chinese Painting* (中國畫論研究) (Peking: Peking UP, 1983) 194-242; Ch'ien Chung-shu, "Reflections on Lessing's *Laokoon*," *Comparative Literature Studies: A Collection* (Peking: Peking UP, 1984) 1-20. Cf. Earl Miner's remarks on the nonmimetic quality of Japanese painting: "*Edo Mumare* may well seem to call for a deconstructive

analysis, to show the unworthiness of assumptions about the relation of verbal or pictorial 'languages' to anything other than themselves or, perhaps, the joined verbal-pictorial language of the work. In this view, we would take the work as a kind of casebook example of 'écriture,' 'textuality,' and certainly also 'intertextuality' as we observe the play between word and picture, picture and word, words on a picture within a picture, allusion, etc. In the end, we have only 'reflexivity.' The 'language' refers only to itself (or the 'languages' refer also to each other, if we posit both a pictorial; and a verbal). In any event they do not refer to reality." See his "The Grounds of Mimetic and Nonmimetic Art: The Western Sister Arts in a Japanese Mirror," *Articulate Images*, ed. Richard Wendorf (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1983) 77.

³⁶ Of course, this is no longer the situation after the French Revolution in the West; see Ronald Paulson, *The Representations of Revolution* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1983). Here, I confine myself to Chinese way of representation.

³⁷ Ernest Fenollosa, "The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry"; Fenollosa suggests that "Chinese notation is something much more than arbitrary symbols. . . the Chinese method follows natural suggestion. . . . The thought picture is not only called up by these signs as well as by words but far more vividly and concretely." Ezra Pound continues to think in the same direction. On these two scholars' interesting misreading, see Wai-lim Yip, *Ezra Pound's Cathay* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1969). Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology* 90-93.

³⁸ Derrida, *Of Grammatology* 90.

³⁹ Zhang Longxi, "The *Tao* and the *Logos*: Notes on Derrida's Critique of Logocentrism," *Critical Inquiry* 11 (1985): 396. This essay is full of flaws, particularly in its uncritical comparison of *Tao* and *Logos*, not to mention its problematic remarks on Chinese writing in general.

Potentials for "Peaceful" and "Unpeaceful" Relationships between the United States and Micronesia under the Compacts of Free Association

Dirk Anthony Ballendorf

After a tutelage and control of some forty-two years, the United States is about to end its Trusteeship in Micronesia through the United Nations, and give the area a new political status of "free association" with the United States. This is a time when people such as myself — a student and observer of Micronesia, and things Micronesian — are given to retrospection and introspection into the past experience; its value and its lessons for all concerned. While I do this almost as a matter of course in my professional life — I am a professor at the University of Guam and have some fifty students regularly who are studying this experience with me — I am more intrigued these days with how the future will look under the new Compacts of Free Association, and especially how the new governments of Micronesia and the American government will get along with and relate to one another. It is within this realm that I intend to speculate today.

Most people are aware of Micronesia — where it is and how it is politically arranged. But even those who live here in the area sometimes find that there is some confusion around this. Therefore,

let me provide you with a quick political synopsis. Micronesia — taken here to mean the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands — includes the Marshall, Mariana, and Caroline Islands. Geographically and culturally it also includes Kiribati, Nauru — and some ethnographers have also suggested part of the Ellice Islands as well — but I am using the term here in the sense of the TTPI. Guam is also part of Micronesia, but politically it has always been separate because it is an unincorporated U.S. territory. Ever since the formation of the TTPI after WWII Guam has been something of a leader throughout Micronesia in the sense that its shops, stores, communications, and social infrastructure facilities in education and public health, have always been available to the other Micronesians. Guam, in fact, likes to think of itself as "the hub of the Pacific" as you can see from the stamped inscription on its license plates. The people of Guam however — the local people, Guamanians or Chamorros — do not think of themselves as Micronesians and they never really have. The Micronesians, they think, are the people from the other

islands who are seen as distant country cousins.

The new political status which is about to take effect began to be negotiated in 1969. It has taken all of this time to get the final arrangements agreed upon. During the 1970s and early 1980s when the negotiations dragged sometimes within the Micronesians' often drawn-out and inefficient consensus type of decision-making, it was generally thought that if only the negotiations could proceed and be settled, the whole matter of the future could be resolved and everyone could "get on with it" so to speak. Implicit was the idea that the U.S. would certainly approve of the arrangements if only the Micronesians would move a little faster.

It came then, as something of a surprise to some people — especially those in Micronesia and the Micronesians themselves — that when matters came to the U.S. Congress for consideration and approval that our government dragged as well and in fact at one point with the introduction of more than 50 amendments to the Compacts it seemed as though we would all have to start over again. But, now all that part is past and we are looking to the beginning of the implementation of these Compacts of Free Association. What do they provide? They provide block grants of money each year to each of the three new Micronesian states, and this money is to be spent more or less in the ways that the new governments see fit to spend it; specifically:

PALAU will receive \$7 million annually for the first ten years of the compact, and \$6 million annually for the next five years. In addition, one million annually will be given for infrastructure maintenance for ten years commencing

on the fifth anniversary.

THE FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA (FSM) will receive \$60 million annually for the first five years of the compact, \$51 million annually for the next five years, and \$40 million annually for the third five year period. Over the fifteen year period no less than 40% of these amounts must be dedicated to capital improvement accounts.

MARSHALLS will receive \$19 million annually for the first five years, \$15 million annually for the next five years, and \$12 million annually for the third five years.

Further, all of these amounts will be adjusted for each fiscal year to account for inflation according to a formula which I will skip here. And there are other payments also: these include \$9 million annually for the Marshalls to use at its discretion but with attention to the Kwajalien Atoll area which is the United States missile-testing facility. There will also be \$6 million annually for the term of the compacts overall, to be divided as follows:

- \$1 million for surveillance and enforcement in Micronesian maritime areas;
- \$2 million annually for health and medical programs; and
- \$3 million annually in support of educational scholarships.

You can see then that there are three separate Compacts, one for each of the new states; however, in some instances there will be a shared, or common implementation to some of the arrangements.

Let us now consider something about what the compacts mean legally and socially. Some observers — superficial

ones — have contended that there is really no difference between the Trusteeship and the Compact arrangements for practical purposes; that the Compacts are nothing more than a Trusteeship without the United Nations being involved. This is nonsense, of course, and a point of view held only by Russians and cynics. Without getting into any lengthy dissertations, legally the Trusteeship was an agreement between the United Nations and the United States and it has not involved the people of Micronesia at all in any fundamental decision-making. The terms of the Agreement could be changed only with the consent of the United States. The Compacts, on the other hand, are agreements between the U.S. government and the people of Micronesia. They are binding for only 15 years and a call for termination or renegotiation can be initiated by either side at any time; after fifteen years they will be mandatorily renegotiated or reagreed upon.

I think, however, it is useful, interesting, and certainly more fun, to look at these arrangements — both the Trusteeship and the Compacts — in a social meaning sense, and with some lighter-hearted analogy. I have found that my students at the University of Guam gain a quicker and more rapid understanding of the situation that way: The Trusteeship is socially analogous to foster parenthood; Micronesia has been the fosterchild of the United States since WWII. In this relationship we have often neglected and have often spoiled this child. Most observers would agree that we could have done a much better job of foster-parenting than we have, and I think the Micronesians would agree to this as well. Nevertheless, this child has grown into adolescence and it is

time now for him to move out on his own, get a job, and a home — or an apartment at least — of his own. You can come over for Sunday dinner once in awhile, says the U.S., but from now on you have to start existing more on your own. The money allowances we have given you in the past will now be reduced, and you will have to manage the reduced allowances we will continue to provide you with more on your own. In addition, you will have to make arrangements to earn other money and that amount should be enough to develop yourself on and save from. Sometime in the future we will want to perhaps cut out your allowance altogether. Thus the preparations for the end of the Trusteeship — the end of the fosterparenthood. I hasten to qualify myself here by saying that in using the analogy of foster parenthood I am in no way suggesting that Micronesians are children; rather I am using the analogy in application to a model of political arrangement, i.e., the Trusteeship.

The Compacts of Free Association are somewhat analogous to the social situation of living together without being married. See the U.S. as the traditional males, older, and see Micronesia as a traditional female, much younger. President Salii of Palau has described the Compacts as an agreement to have a built-in “no fault” divorce. This is certainly a new arrangement for the U.S. and perhaps the Micronesians could be taken as being more naturally inclined to handle such an arrangement since they have been colonized for so many years, but this is also new for them as well. Is the compact arrangement basically an exploitive one? Some sociologists contend that people who live together without being married are actually

exploiting one another because there is no real commitment; others say that it is in fact a very mature way to live and represents the most sophisticated kind of arrangement for the future. I will not make a judgment on this; simply the analogy.

Adam Curle, in his book *Making Peace* (Tavistock, 1971) defines the nature of "peaceful" and "unpeaceful" relationships between people, groups, institutions, and nations in terms of various levels of balance and awareness.¹ Many do not see that they are in the midst of basically unpeaceful relationships even though they seem to coexist comfortably until there is heightened awareness. In the case of national entities, it might be that although they are not really at war, they are not really at peace either. Professor Curle might characterize the relationship between Micronesia and the United States as having been that way; i.e., an unpeaceful relationship. He would have done this in the case of the Trusteeship at different times over the past 40 years. For example, the advent of the thermo-nuclear testing in the Marshall Islands during the 1950s would have been a case where the United States was exploiting Micronesia and its people and this was clearly an unpeaceful relationship between the two countries.

Applying Curle's sensitivities to Micronesia under the Compacts allows us considerable room for useful speculation on our future relationship. Let us consider the matter of economic development. For the United States economic development is a way of life; a way of relating to the rest of the world on a national level. You invest money, time and resources in such a way as to maximize, or optimize, returns within a

reasonable amount of time in the future. This is a concept which is new to Micronesians in the sense that they have actually had the responsibility themselves to do it. In the past it has been the colonials who have handled the economic development, and at such times it was solely for their own gains and not for that of the Micronesians'; hence, an unpeaceful relationship.

Most of the visiting experts and economists who have come to Micronesia, as well as the Micronesian leadership itself in many instances, agree that in order for economic development to take place in a significant way, both labor and capital will have to be imposed. This means for practical purposes that outsiders will have to be allowed to come into the islands in large numbers to perform both public and private tasks in construction, business and industry, education, health, and even in government service itself. It means also that private investors from the outside will have to be allowed to undertake projects which will result in significantly large enough profits to make it worth their while, and they will also have to receive some kind of benefits or "perks" from the host country governments by way of encouragement. We have right at this moment a number of tourist-related industries — hotels, resorts, travel agency conglomerates, and the like — attempting to make deals in Micronesia. Whenever you have a situation like this you have the attending possibility of exploitation and the resulting potential unpeaceful relationship developing. Economic exploitation in the form of various projects in economic development for Micronesia, represents, I believe, the single highest risk which both the Americans — or any outsiders — and the Micronesians have together.

This whole area is especially difficult because the Micronesians themselves are among the most vigorous supporters of various economic development projects at the present time.

Another potential difficulty lies in the area of public services and utilities. As most of us who have direct experience in Micronesia will understand, the level of public utilities is very low. In Palau it is an endemic condition to have "water hours" because the old Japanese-installed water pipes are so leaky, that simply to turn on the water system is to exacerbate or encourage new leaks. Sewerage treatment is another sore point although it is not always quite as evident as the water difficulties since there are ample pit toilets and large areas for dumping of waste and refuse. Electrification is currently undersupplied and under-subscribed and almost always improperly installed, given the standards of safety which are enforced in places like Japan and the United States. There are a number of private companies, backed by international investors, which today are seeking to provide these public services for the Micronesians under their new compact arrangements. Within Micronesia itself these days there seems to be a propensity to entertain development concepts in the private sector as opposed to the public or government sector. The reasons for this are several and complicated, but I think it has to do with the heretofore low quality of government services which have been seen in the recent years in the Trust Territory and the attending low regard which the Micronesians have for these things, given the models of operation they have seen. There is a general disenchantment and impatience with listening to speeches by government officials as a substitute for

running water.

Some government officials, on the other hand, contend that the problem is not the absence of an ability to provide these needed services, but rather an absence of capacity based upon such fundamentals as adequate budgets and trained manpower. Be all this as it may, there is existing now an attitude — among the common people in the islands especially — of unbridled complacency and frustrated disenchantment with the government. This is a matter of concern to observers such as myself, who see all the potential for an unpeaceful situation getting even worse when desire of rapid change and catharsis overtakes rational and measured planning in all sectors.

The amounts of money available now to the Micronesians seem large especially when couched in terms of the multiple effects of economic development. Some investors have suggested that future compact funds can be used as collateral for various loans to be taken out for the construction of public services and utilities. It appears clear that the quality of such services will rise significantly and rapidly. The other sides to such "public service coins", however, are that under a private sector arrangement for electricity and water, there must be prompt payment for services. If this is not forthcoming, then someone turns off your power and water! This would be a totally new experience for Micronesians, who, even under the most miserable and inefficient systems of the past TTPI arrangements, no one would suffer from services being cut off — well, almost no one, and virtually never. I am scratching only the tip of the iceberg here, however, I think it is clear for the development of an even greater unpeaceful relationship.

Please be assured that I'm not calling

here for a social or fiscal paralysis as a precondition for progress under the Compacts. I am merely attempting to call attention to the great challenges and potential complications which face the leaders on both sides of the Pacific who will have to deal with the beginning years of our new political relationships together.

International relations is another important area of uncertainty and challenge. Consider particularly the well-known and recent interest of the Soviet Union in the Pacific. Although the Russians are not new-comers to the Pacific by any means, their recent efforts to gain political access to the islands are disturbing. They have negotiated fishing agreements in Kiribati, Vanuatu, and Fiji, and we can expect to hear a lot more from them in the not too distant future. In the case of the new Compacts of Free Association, it is clear that the United States is exclusively responsible for military matters and defense. The Russians couldn't come into Micronesia very directly without U.S. approval and it seems unlikely that the U.S. would approve. However, there are a number of possibilities for Russian expression of active interest which we can be sure will be tested under these heretofore unknown political arrangements within the American political framework. These are, specifically, the offering of various educational programs and exchanges — in 1969 the Russians did in fact offer scholarships to Micronesians to go to the Soviet Union to study at the Patrice Labumba University — attempted "courtesy calls" at ports by ships, and of course, fishing agreements for which we already have recent precedent elsewhere. All such social and political forays on the part of "the bear" are well known in

other parts of the world, and we should not be so naive as to think that we shall not see them here in the western Pacific soon. This is perhaps the most insidious form of unpeaceful relationship because it promotes not only the potential for exploitation, but also of opportunism and mistrust which leads very quickly to reactionary policies. In spite of the fact that some Micronesian leaders have made statements recently — and will undoubtedly continue — extremely supportive of and reassuring to the United States, no one should relax their guard or concern over such possibilities as I have mentioned.

Closer to home, we have domestic issues within the Micronesian communities themselves which offer the potential for increased unpeaceful relations. Perhaps the most important, as well as the most ignored, is the changing relationships among Micronesian men and women. Micronesia is popularly known as "a man's world" and with good reason. The superficial observer can easily see that it is the women who are expected to do the domestic work of housekeeping and cleaning while the men are the breadwinners. Implicit here is the assumption that the men will more readily perform the intellectual and leadership tasks. Certainly it is they who get the jobs first when competition for places is high. Now, over the period of Trusteeship, one of the most successful, if sometimes wasteful, programs has been that of public education. All have had the chance to advance as far as their native abilities could take them. Girls were encouraged to be enrolled as well as the boys, and this was the case for off-island post-secondary scholarships as well. Large numbers of Micronesians have participated in higher educational

programs since the early 1970s and this has led some observers, such as Father Hezel of Truk, to call attention to the phenomena and implications of the Micronesian "educational explosion" of the 1970s and early 1980s.²

The girls have done, generally, very well in their educational programs, and many have done better than the boys in the sense that they have stayed in their programs rather than drop-out, and have returned to their islands with degrees.³ We have a situation in Micronesia today where there are many qualified women who cannot get jobs simply because it is culturally dictated that men get the jobs first, even when they might not have completed their degrees. This is causing a pretty unpeaceful relationship to develop between the sexes and it is potentially explosive. In my own limited experience, I have often found unemployed or underemployed educated women, to advance ideas for the implementation of change and development which are much more exciting and creative than those advanced by the men. It is one thing to have an unpeaceful relationship with another nation; it is quite another to have an unpeaceful relationship between the sexes within your nation — especially when it is such a geographically small place.

Communication between men and women in Micronesia today is nowhere near what it should be for a continued healthy and smooth development. Very often the two groups talk right past each other. This is something which I think all the Micronesian leaders will have to come to grips with fairly soon.

Now, what is to be done about this? If anything I have said or have pointed out has any merit, we should have — I should have — something to say which

offers consolation if not solution. First, I think we need sensitivity and this is something which has to be expressed on both sides. We need people looking at these phenomena and speaking up about them. Second, we also need increased responsibility. This I think falls more now upon the shoulders of the United States than it ever has in the past. I say this because for a number of years the U.S. has not been very good at holding itself or the Micronesians accountable in Micronesia. In the words of former Ambassador Peter Rosenblatt, "the Trusteeship has proven to be not a very good way of providing tutelege." As I have said earlier in my analogy to fosterparenthood, we have sometimes neglected, and sometimes spoiled our charges. We should be more than ever before, as Representative Ben Blaz has asserted, "the guardians, not the guards" of Micronesia. This means, I think in the case of economic development, that potential investors from the outside have to be well-informed, and well instructed, as well as proctored by the United States watchdog groups as they proceed in their well-intended investment efforts. Third, we need continued patience. There has been a lot of this so far — how else could it have ever taken seventeen years to get the Compacts agreed upon? No one should become short on this quality now.

Under the Trusteeship we have seen the Micronesians move themselves from a condition of political and social childhood, into a capable and vigorous adolescence. We must work together and cooperate now to keep our relationships peaceful and see them move forward to responsible and strong healthy adulthood, rather than simply an older and older adolescence.

NOTES

This article was originally presented as a paper at the 50th Anniversary Symposium of the University of Hawaii's School of Social Work. I am very grateful to Dean Sanders and his faculty for providing me the opportunity to engage in dialogue with them.

¹Adam Curle, *Making Peace*, London: Tavistock Publications, Ltd., 1971. Professor Curle has given us what might be called the first "text book" for peacemaking. On page seventeen he provides his theoretical framework from which I have borrowed here.

²Francis X. Hezel, S.J., "The Education Explosion in Truk", *Pacific Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2, Spring 1979, pp. 167-185. The phenomena which Father Hezel describes uses the example of Truk State. However, the "educational explosion" he speaks of could be seen throughout Micronesia.

³Randall Workman, et. al., *Island Voyagers in New Quests: A Study of Degree Completion Among Micronesian College Students*, University of Guam, Micronesian Area Research Center, 1981. In this report a consideration of the dropout problem is made and a discussion of the various enrollments overseas with both men and women is provided.

Wrath of the Great Wall

(長城怨)

Winifred Wei

(魏惟儀)

ACT SIX

WRATH OF THE GREAT WALL

SCENE ONE

Time:

210 B.C. The 12th year of the Ch'in Empire.

Place:

The terminal of the inner Great Wall on the shore of Po Hai (渤海).

Scene:

A section of the Great Wall, slanting slightly because it is built on the escarpment of a mountain. Part of its crest and parapets are shown. In the background is a mountain range with the Great Wall winding on its sharp ridges like a dragon, joining the section of the wall on stage by a guard tower. Over the lower reach of the wall a green patch of the sea can be seen. In front of the wall there is a clearing, leading to the top of the wall by a flight of steps. Near the foot of the steps there is a brick encirclement where mortar is being mixed. At down stage left there is a mound for the supervisor of the construction.

THE CURTAIN RISES

Brown-clothed convicts and black-clothed drafted workers are hard at work: a foursome carrying a huge stone block; a few mixing mortar by stamping it with their bare feet; a team, shackled to one another by an iron chain at the ankle, are transporting bricks from a kiln (hidden from view but its smoke can be seen wafting on to the stage). The afternoon sun of mid-summer beats relentlessly on the workers, whose skin, after long exposure to its merciless rays, is as dark as the clothes they wear. Unlike ordinary workers, they do not sing the rhythmic "Yu Ho A Hai" to ensure coordination. Mute and dull-eyed, they look more dead than alive. Captain Li Wen, the supervisor, runs about like a lunatic, whipping the workers one by one. But there are no groans, no murmurs, not even a sigh from his victims.

Li Wen:

(in jumping fettle) Cry! Groan! Moan! Make some human sound!

(He whips a worker with all his might, then points at his own nose.)

Curse me! Curse me! CURSE ME!

(The worker goes right on with his task without any response.)

You are not human beings. You're just cockroaches! COCKROACKES, ALL OF YOU! You'll be cockroaches in your next incarnation!

(The workers still remain mute. Li Wen loses all self-control. He drops his whip, pulls his own hair, slaps his own face, jumps up and down until blue veins appear on his forehead then collapses against the wall and groans. Enter a group of scholars in wooden collar cangues herded by Captain Wu Kwong. Looking extremely pale and emaciated, with white gowns hanging loose from their sloping shoulders, the scholars present a striking contrast to the brown and black workers, though they share the same fate.)

Wu Kwong:

(to the still groaning Li Wen) What's the matter with you? Are you sick?

Li Wen:

I'm not sick. I'm just mad at this bunch of walking dead . . . this bunch of moving corpses! (eyeing the scholars in collar cangues) WHITE SKELETONS! Why are you bringing those white skeletons?

Wu Kwong:

They refused to burn their books so they are sentenced to build the Long Wall.

Li Wen:

(bursts out laughing) Oh! Heaven! These

skeletons are utterly useless. If you ask them to transport bricks or stone blocks, they would surely drop the load on their own feet! They are just worthless food consumers.

Wu Kwong:

They are not for you to use. The final destination is Liao Tung.

Li Wen:

(laughing so hard that his face turns purple) Oh! I've not had such a good laugh for years! (Pointing to the scholars) I bet all of them will die before they reach Liao Tung.

(Wu Kwong's face suddenly falls. He sits dejectedly on a pile of bricks.)

Wu Kwong:

I was ordered to take those bookworms to Liao Tung. But they walk like women. There are only ten days left, and Liao Tung is still as far as the limit of the sky! You know what'll happen if I don't get them there on time!

(He makes a gesture of beheading with his hand.)

Li Wen:

I heard that they were burying those bookworms in Hsien Yang. Why weren't they buried? That's a much simpler and more merciful way of death.

Wu Kwong:

Labor shortage. Acute shortage!

Li Wen:

But how can you expect those bookworms to work? They've never learned how to use their hands. "Good for nothing but chewing books" — that's

our Emperor's famous saying.

Wu Kwong:

(nods) You're absolutely right. There were sixty of them when we started but there are only eighteen left.

Li Wen:

What's happened to the rest?

Wu Kwong:

Some died on the way and some became too sick to move, so I had to leave them behind. (pointing to the shaking legs of a scholar) Look at that one. He can't even stand up straight!

(The scholar with the shaking legs faints. One of the four stone block carriers trips over his body; the stone block tumbles; two carriers and the scholar are caught underneath. They scream sharply in pain. The two unhurt carriers quickly get on their feet and with the help of some others lift the stone, push it aside and drag out the victims. All three are badly hurt.)

Scholar Convict Chia:

I'm a physician. Remove my cangue. I may be able to help them.

(Wu Kwong walks up to Chia and opens his cangue. Chia immediately runs over to the victims and starts tending their wounds. Meanwhile Wu Kwong continues opening the cangues of all the scholars.)

Li Wen:

Hei! Don't do that! They might run away!

Wu Kwong:

The sky is high and the Emperor is far away. Let them have some freedom.

Even if they run away I'll just report to the supervisor in Liao Tung that they all perished on the road.

Li Wen:

(sighs) Ai! I'm afraid your fate is doomed! It's your misfortune to be put in charge of these bookworms!

(Scholar Convict Yi steps up on top of the supervisor's mound. He claps his hands to attract attention.)

Scholar Convict Yi:

Listen, all of you! Please listen to me!

(All the others turn toward him except the physician and the victims.)

Captains, soldiers and fellow convicts, although we come from different walks of life, we share the same fate. We have nothing to look forward to except work until we drop dead. Our corpses will not even be properly buried!

(All sigh.)

Why not fight for our freedom? Why wait for our doomsday?

(His audience look at one another blankly.)

Ch'in has forsaken the teachings of the saints, killed the learned, burnt the books, abandoned morality and righteousness, encouraged treachery, inflicted punishment and torture on innocent people. Men, laboring in the rice fields, cannot keep enough husks to fill their own bellies; women, bending over their looms day and night, cannot keep enough cloth to cover their own bodies; laborers shed sweat and blood year in and year

out without any hope of ever seeing their families again! We are all doomed . . . doomed to death!

(Some among his audience burst into tears; some wail and some stamp their feet. A pale face appears between the parapets of the wall.)

Pale Face:

(yelling loudly) I want to go home! I want to go home now!

Li Wen:

(shouts back at him) Who doesn't? But if we do, before we reach home our beloved ones will have already been killed by the authorities. Now the work is almost done, the date of our freedom is drawing near. Let's finish our job and go home in peace.

Pale Face:

(laughing hysterically) Go home in peace! Are you joking!? I'm very sick. I can't wait. I'll soon die!

(The pale-faced man crawls up and stands between two parapets. His legs tremble and his body sways. With one hand holding the parapet, he begins to sing.)

Pale Face:

The Great Wall is endlessly long!

From dawn to dusk we toil till

Our fingers bleed and our nails are gone!

("Our nails are gone" chorus the others.)

The Great Wall is endlessly long!

Summer sun sets our backs on fire and

Our working days are long!

("Our working days are long" chorus the others)

The Great Wall is endlessly long!

Winter blizzards pierce our bones and

We've no warm clothing on!

("We've no warm clothing on" chorus the others.)

Our white-haired parents and loving wives

Are they still waiting for us or

Are they letting us down!?

("Are they letting us down?" chorus the others.)

(All burst in tears.)

Scholar Convict Yi:

What's the use of crying, you fools! Let's go and join the rebelling farmers in the Kuan Chung Plain. We'll kill that tyrant who enslaves us!

Audience:

Let's rebel! Let's kill that tyrant!

Scholar Convict:

LET'S GO! LET'S GO NOW!

Wu Kwong:

I'll join you.

(Exit scholar convicts, Captain Wu Kwong and some other convicts and laborers. The pale-faced man tries to move but his legs shake violently.)

Pale Face:

(howling in despair) My legs are weak and my home is far . . . far . . . far away.

(He jumps down.)

(Many rush to the sprawling body of Pale Face.)

A Convict:

He is dead! Captain Li Wen! He has stopped breathing!

(Captain Li Wen sits down abruptly on the ground.)

Li Wen:

(remorsefully) I've been a beast! A man-eating beast! I've been ill-treating the poor people! I am not human! I'm a wolf . . . a tiger . . . a wild beast!

(He pulls down his hair.)

My hair was pitch black when I joined the army, now it's already grey!

(He buries his head in his hands and sobs. The mourning of Pale Face's friends, the groaning of the wounded, the sobbing of the captain and the sighing of the laborers dominate the stage.)

(Enter Chiang Nu (姜女), a comely country girl, with a carrying pole over her right shoulder. Hanging from one end of the pole is a big bundle and from the other end a few pairs of thatched sandals.)

(For a short while she stands there shocked at seeing the wailing men, then she summons enough courage and calls out loudly.)

Chiang Nu:

HSI LIANG! HSI LIANG! HSI LIANG!

(Everyone on stage turns to look at her, even those working on the crest of the wall appear between the parapets. Li Wen walks up to her.)

Li Wen:

Are you looking for someone?

Chiang Nu:

(makes a curtsy) My name is Chiang Nu from the city of Feng (豐). I am looking

for my husband Wan Hsi Liang. He was drafted two years ago on our wedding night.

Li Wen:

Yes, I know him. . . . I know him. He often talked about the sad story of being drafted on his wedding night.

Chiang Nu:

(overwhelmed with happy expectancy) Where is he? Where is my husband?

Li Wen:

(dropping his eyelids, with a sad expression) He is dead!

Chiang Nu:

(as if stricken by a thunderbolt, falls on her knees and cries) Hsi Liang! Hsi Liang! I walked thousands of miles and wore out a hundred pairs of thatched shoes to bring you your winter clothing . . . only to find you are already dead!

(She wails and cries. Meanwhile the workers all come and form a semi-circle behind her.)

Chiang Nu:

(trying hard to suppress her grief) Where is he buried?

A Worker:

(pointing to a section of the wall) We buried him inside the wall.

Chiang Nu:

(can't believe her ears) What? Buried in the wall?

Worker:

We had to. Weather was very hot. Corpses decompose so fast. The easiest way is to bury them inside the wall.

(Chiang Nu picks up a shovel from the ground and runs toward the section of the wall where her husband is buried, but she is quickly stopped by Li Wen.)

Li Wen:

What are you trying to do?

Chiang Nu:

I'm going to dig my husband's body out.

Li Wen:

Are you crazy? How dare you destroy the wall! The Emperor will come very soon to inspect it himself. If you damage the wall not only you will be put to death, my head will be chopped off too. Now take my advice — go home and find another husband. What's the use of digging out the corpse? The dead cannot come back to life. Go home. Go back to where you came from.

Chiang Nu:

(gives a long desolate cry) I have no home, no one to go back to. I have no parents, no in-laws, no brother and no sister. Now that my husband is dead, I'm all alone in this wide world. . . all alone. . .

(She sits down on the ground and cries her heart out. All the people around her weep in sympathy. Suddenly the sky darkens. A tidal wave surges so high that water splashes on to the stage. The whole range of the Great Wall seems like a huge dragon coming alive. The undulation starts from the tail of the big serpent's body until it reaches the guard tower which raises itself like the head of a giant reptile ready to strike at its victim, then the earth quakes, the section of the wall on stage collapses, bricks and stone blocks fly, people scream, the whole stage is smothered with dust. When the rumbling

stops and the dust settles, the guard tower becomes a pile of debris, some of the parapets on the wall are gone and some are askew. Like a miracle, nobody is hurt, because all of them have been watching Chiang Nu telling her sad tale. Everyone slowly gets up on his feet and looks around. Suddenly a convict cries out.)

Convict:

A body! A corpse! It's Wan Hsi Liang! I know him.

(Chiang Nu rushes to Wan's body, holding his head in her arms, trembling all over.)

(All the people kneel down in awe.)

Li Wen:

(stands up abruptly) I'm ruined! I'm doomed! (pointing at the debris) The Emperor is coming to inspect the wall. He is coming any minute. He'll be mad to see it in ruins! What shall I do? What shall I say?

(The scholar physician, who has chosen to stay behind to tend the wounded laborers, stands up and all others follow suit.)

Physician:

(to Li Wen) Just tell His Majesty the truth. Tell him that the Earth Dragon took pity on poor Chiang Nu, so he shook the wall and brought out the body of her husband.

Li Wen:

(cheers up a little) That's right. Just tell His Majesty the truth — the tragic story of Chiang Nu . . . but . . . but . . . but what if he refuses to believe . . . what if he thinks that I fabricate the story?

Physician:
He'll believe it. He is very superstitious.

Li Wen:
(still looks very crestfallen, he stares at the ruins of the wall. All of a sudden, a frantic glint comes to his eye; his whole body trembles; he grasps the shoulders of the physician) But . . . but . . . but I can't wait any longer! I've been here eleven years without home leave! I . . . I . . . I have a beautiful wife. She might have already a lover or she might have run away . . . night after night I dream of her making love to other men! I . . . I . . . I can't wait any longer. It'll take one year . . . two years . . . or three years to repair this wall. I CAN'T WAIT! I DON'T WANT TO WAIT ANY LONGER! I'VE HAD ENOUGH! (He rushes offstage.)

(All people shake their heads and sigh.)

Physician:
(to the still weeping Chiang Nu) Young lady, what happened to you is so tragic that even Heaven takes pity on you. Please compose yourself and let us know what do you wish to do with your husband's body. Shall we help you to bury him properly?

Chiang Nu:
(thinking for a while) This place is very close to the sea. I think I'll have him buried in the water.

Physician:
That's a good solution. (Eyeing the people standing around her) We need two people to help this young lady to carry her husband's body to the seashore.

(Two workers volunteer. They pick up Wan Hsi Liang's body and carry it off

stage, followed by Chiang Nu.)

Physician:
(taking command in the absence of Li Wen) Fellow workers, the Emperor will soon come. Let's try our best to clean up this place.

(All workers resume working.)

(Enter Hsu Fu, the necromancer, wearing a Taoist robe, with a bottle-gourd hanging from his left shoulder.)

Hsu Fu:
(eyeing the ruins) Oh Heaven! That earthquake has completely destroyed the guard tower!

Physician:
(opening his eyes wide and stares at Hsu Fu) Are you a ghost?

Hsu Fu:
(peevish) I don't think we have ever met each other before. Why should you curse me like that?

Physician:
If you are a human being then you must be crazy!

Hsu Fu:
Your discourtesy is intolerable.

Physician:
How dare you wear a Taoist robe! Don't you know that the Emperor has ordered all Taoists to be buried alive?

Hsu Fu:
(surprised) Why?

Physician:
Because a necromancer named Hsu Fu

spent millions in gold but failed to bring back the elixir of immortality from the fairy islands for His Majesty.

Hsu Fu:

(shocked) His Majesty must be very . . . very angry at Hsu Fu!

Physician:

Of course, lucky that fellow Hsu Fu was away on another voyage, but His Majesty said if Hsu Fu fails again this time, he'll surely cut off his head.

Hsu Fu:

I AM HSU FU!

Physician:

Are you joking?

Hsu Fu:

No, I've just come back from the Fairy Islands.

Physician:

Have you brought back the elixir of immortality?

Hsu Fu:

Unfortunately, I failed again!

(From offstage comes a crescendo of gongs.)

(Several people rush up the stage, one with a white bird perching on his shoulder and another with a big white flower on a twig in his hand, the rest all carrying bags of various sizes on their backs.)

Bird Carrier:

(to Hsu Fu) Master, Master, I heard that the Emperor is coming!

Physician:

All of you better run away.

(Voices offstage "Clear the road! His Majesty comes! Clear the road, all of you!" Hsu Fu and his followers' faces turn paler and paler as the noise of the gong and shouting become louder and louder.)

Hsu Fu's followers:

Let's run away or let's hide somewhere.

Hsu Fu:

It's no use running away. The Emperor will move Heaven and Earth to find me!

Physician:

I suggest you take off your Taoist robe and borrow some brown clothe from the convict — the dead one.

Hsu Fu:

(composes himself) - Don't worry, I can take care of myself. (to his followers) I assure you people that I'll take all the blame myself, that nothing untoward will ever come to you people. Be calm. I can handle the situation.

(The two workers who carried Wan's body to the seashore re-enter running.)

Workers:

When we threw Wan Hsi Liang's body into the sea, Chiang Nu also jumped in and immediately she turned into hundreds of silver fish swimming away!

(At this juncture, enter the First Emperor, Prince Hu Hai — the 18th and the most favored son of the Emperor — Premier Li Sze, Count Meng Tien and Chief Eunuch Chao Kao. Everyone on the stage kneels. The gongs are silent.)

Emperor:
Who turned into silver fish?

Physician:
A young lady named Chiang Nu coming here to look for her husband, to bring him his winter clothing, only to find him already dead and buried in the wall. She cried so hard and wailed so loud that she woke up the Earth Dragon. He shook the earth, the wall collapsed and exposed her husband's body.

Emperor:
A very interesting story. How did she turn into fish?

Physician:
She wanted to bury her husband in the sea. But when these two workers threw her husband's body into the sea, she also jumped in and turned into hundreds of silver fish.

Emperor:
She is a very virtuous and devoted wife. I respect women who are faithful to their husbands. Li Sze.

Li Sze:
Yes, Your Majesty.

Emperor:
I want you to write a story of this good woman, carve it on a stone slab. I also want a temple to be built in her honor on one of the islands near the seashore.

Li Sze:
Yes, Your Majesty.

Emperor:
Who is the supervisor here?

Physician:

The supervisor here is Li Wen. He feared that Your Majesty would punish him for the damage of the wall, so he ran away.

One of the workers:
He didn't run away, he hanged himself! I saw him dangling from a tree while on my way back from the seashore.

Emperor:
(to the physician) Who are you?

Physician:
I am a convict.

Emperor:
You don't look like a laborer.

Physician:
I was a scholar.

Emperor:
Apparently you are the most brainy one in this group. I appoint you to be the supervisor.

Physician:
Thank you, Your Majesty.

Emperor:
(To all the others who are still kneeling)
Rise, everyone of you.

(All get up on their feet.)

Emperor:
(to the physician) I give you one year to have the wall repaired.

Physician:
Yes, Your Majesty.

An old worker:
Your Majesty, the wall can be fixed but there is a huge chasm near the foot of

the wall caused by another earthquake a year ago. No matter how much earth we pour in, it cannot be filled. The local people say it's the mouth of the Earth Dragon.

Hu Hai:

(bowing to the Emperor) My divine sire! I've a way to seal up the mouth of the Earth Dragon.

Emperor:

(smiling fondly) Good, Hu Hai, my son, say it.

Hu Hai:

As I rode along this Long Wall I saw many dead unburied and heard the wounded and dying mourning like hogs. They make such a sore sight and ghastly sound and they stink. Why not cast the dead and the dying into the mouth of the Earth Dragon to feed Him. As soon as he is satisfied, he'll shut his mouth.

Emperor:

(slapping Hu Hai's shoulder with glee) A wonderful idea! You are the son after my own heart. You'll make a good emperor! I may consider you my heir.

Meng Tien:

Your Majesty, Prince Hu Hai's suggestion is most inhuman. (boldly) If he should become the Second Emperor, all the people will suffer.

(A pause. Chao Kao and Hu Hai cast defiant glance at Meng Tien but Meng pays no heed.)

After almost two years with the Crown Prince Fu Soo, I've found out that His Highness has all the good qualities of an emperor: compassion and righteousness.

He loves and honors Your Majesty; he loves his people and his country. Above all, Your Majesty, he is the eldest of your sons, therefore, the rightful heir.

Emperor:

Count Meng Tien, what I don't like about Fu Soo is that he has the heart of a woman. Love, Count Meng Tien, is the greatest of all vices. If my son Fu Soo becomes a victim of this base emotion, his judgment will be impaired; his vision blurred; his hearing affected and he'll never make a good ruler.

Meng Tien:

Your Majesty, the law of Ch'in says that the Crown Prince cannot be deposed without sufficient reason. I hope Your Majesty will not do anything contrary to the law on purely hypothetical grounds.

Emperor:

Count Meng Tien, do I have to remind you that I am the Emperor and I can add or delete any code in the Book of Law!

(Meng Tien's face burns with anger. The Emperor slaps Meng's shoulder and smiles.)

I am not going to die YET. I am not yet fifty. We'll discuss the question at some other time and place.

Chao Kao:

(suddenly discovers that there is someone among the crowd wearing a Taoist attire) Your Majesty, there is a Taoist here. (pointing to Hsu Fu).

Hsu Fu:

(walks up to the Emperor and bows) Your Majesty, your humble servant Hsu Fu.

Emperor:
(greatly surprised) Hsu Fu?

Hsu Fu:
Yes, Your Majesty. I am Hsu Fu. I've just come back from Peng Lai.

Emperor:
(sternly) Hsu Fu, have you brought back the elixir of immortality, the Ling Tze Fungus?

Hsu Fu:
I got the Ling Tze Fungus. . .

Emperor:
(overjoyed) Where is it? Let me have it AT ONCE!

Hsu Fu:
But, Your Majesty, when I sailed near the Gulf of Po Hai, an enormous fish raised its head from the sea and threatened to overturn the boat if I refuse to give it the Ling Tze Fungus.

Emperor:
(seething with anger) Another fabricated tale! Meng Tien, kill him RIGHT NOW!

Hsu Fu:
(calmly) Your Majesty, killing me is just like killing an ant or a cockroach. Killing me will not bring back the million ounces of gold spent. It will only discourage those who really have Your Majesty's health and welfare at heart.

Emperor:
Meng Tien, put away your sword. (to Hsu Fu) Rumor has it that you've become the king of one of the Fairy Islands. Is that true?

Hsu Fu:

If it is true, it only proves that I value more honoring my promise to Your Majesty than glory of being a king, otherwise I wouldn't have risked my life crossing the dangerous sea again to come back to you.

Emperor:
All right, now tell me what are you going to do next?

Hsu Fu:
I hope Your Majesty would let me have one hundred good archers to kill that big fish first.

Li Sze:
(laughing out loud) Forgive me, Your Majesty, I cannot help laughing.

(To Hsu Fu)

A big fish swims from one sea to another in a day's time. Besides, the sea is so vast and so deep, how can you tell where it is and which one it is?

Hsu Fu:
Your Excellency, it's not an ordinary fish. It's half human. It lives with its family on an island at the mouth of the Gulf of Po Hai. Most of the fishermen have seen it. It has the arms and breast of a human being. Sometimes it sits on top of a small island nursing its young. From a distance it looks like a gigantic woman. The fishermen say that the oil from its belly can be used as lamp oil. It burns for years without getting dry. But so far no one dares to kill it.

Emperor:
Ah! Excellent oil for the lamps in my tomb!

Hsu Fu:

Your Majesty will never have to use that tomb. I swear to Your Majesty that I will bring back the Ling Tze Fungus next time.

(A pause)

Your Majesty, may I have the archers right now? I must kill that vicious fish.

Emperor:

(in high spirits) Yes, you may have the archers . . . and I am going with you.

Hsu Fu:

(slightly disturbed) All the way to the Fairy Islands?

Emperor:

No, just to the mouth of the Gulf. I want to see that big fish myself.

Hsu Fu:

(relieved) It's a great honor to me, Your Majesty. When shall we start?

Emperor:

Now, right now!

(to Chao Kao)

Get the ships ready and summon the archers.

Chao Kao:

Yes, Your Majesty. (exits)

Emperor:

Hsu Fu, you have been to the Fairy Islands twice. Describe to me what you've seen there.

Hsu Fu:

From a distance the three Fairy Islands

seem to be floating on clouds. When you approach them, they disappear and strong gusts of winds start blowing the boats away. But now I have found the secret way of reaching them. The fairies living there wear white long dresses walking in the air as if they have wings. The palaces are built with gold, silver and white jade. All the animals, birds even plants and flowers are white, pure white. I have brought back a white bird and a white flower from the fairy land for Your Majesty. (gesticulating to the bird and flower carriers to come forward) Your Majesty, this white bird can speak human language. (To the bird) Say "Long Live Your Majesty."

Bird:

Long Live Your Majesty!

Emperor:

(clapping his hands and laughing) Good bird! Good bird! (To Chao Kao) You look after this wonder bird. Take good care of it.

Chao Kao:

Yes, Your Majesty. (taking over the bird)

Hsu Fu:

(offering the white flower to the Emperor) Your Majesty, the flowers on the Fairy Islands do not fade. They bloom all the year round. The petals of this flower are edible and are a cure-all.

Emperor:

I hope they can cure my headache.

Hsu Fu:

I am sure they can cure Your Majesty's headache, but before you take this magic flower, you have to clean your body, tranquilize your mind and . . . and . . .

stay in a room all by yourself for three days without . . . without any girl companions.

Emperor:

That can easily be done. Now tell me more about the fairyland.

Hsu Fu:

On the fairyland there is no winter, no summer, everyday is warm and balmy. It is spring all the year round, never gets too cold or too hot. The islanders have never seen any snow. The water from their fountains is sweet. And their waterfalls, brooks, springs, in fact, all running waters, make beautiful music, so soft and pleasant to the ear like music made by the stringed instruments Ch'in and Suo (琴瑟).

Emperor:

(entranced) Beautiful! Beautiful! How I wish to be able to get there!

Hsu Fu:

After Your Majesty take the Ling Tze Fungus, you can ride on the clouds, floating over to the fairyland. As it is, it is still dangerous for Your Majesty to go there by boat. The tempests on the sea are unpredictable. Now that I have found out the secret way of getting to the fairyland, my next trip there won't take as much time as in my two previous trips. I promise Your Majesty that I'll be back within two months.

Emperor:

(overjoyed) Good! Get ready to take your third trip at once. I don't want to wait any longer.

Hsu Fu:

Yes, Your Majesty.

(It seems that only the Emperor is taken in by Hsu's tales. All the suite look skeptical — some bow their heads and some look sidewise to hide their disbeliefs.)

(A eunuch enters)

Eunuch:

(kneels down) Your Majesty, the boats are ready.

Emperor:

And the hundred archers?

Eunuch:

They are on board another boat.

Emperor:

Good ! (To Meng Tien) Are you going with me?

Meng Tien:

No, Your Majesty, I have to go back to Shang Chuen right away. The barbarians are very treacherous. Once they found out that I'm away they might make trouble. I don't want to expose the Crown Prince to any danger.

Emperor:

Alright, you may go.

(Meng Tien bows and leaves.)

Emperor:

(to his suite) You all go with me and watch me kill that big human-fish myself. Despite my age. I am still a very good archer.

All his suite:

Your Majesty is still very young. A man at fifty is like the sun in mid-sky.

Emperor:

(laughs out loud) Ha . . . ha . . . ha.

(to the physician) You must have this place cleaned up at once. Dump all the dead and dying into the mouth of the Earth Dragon.

Physician:

Yes, Your Majesty

(Exit the Emperor and his suite.)

Physician:

(to the workers) Remove the dead and the wounded.

Workers:

Remove them, where?

Physician:

Throw them into that chasm.

Workers:

Some of them are still alive!

Physician:

(hesitates for a while) What can I do? I have no medicine . . . not even enough clean water to wash their wounds. It is more merciful to bury them alive than let them suffer a long and lingering death.

(The workers go about their business.)

Physician:

(to himself) Am I doing the right thing to follow the Emperor's order blindly: to work to death the living and to bury alive the wounded and sick? But what can I do? If I disobey, I'll be charged with insubordination.

(Shakes his head.)

I have no choice! (sighs)

Voice:

(offstage) A deserter! I found a deserter behind a pile of bricks!

(Everybody on stage turns his head. In a short while the leather curer is dragged in by a worker.)

Physician:

Who are you?

Leather Curer:

(trembles) I'm a leather curer.

Physician:

A leather curer? What are you doing here? Why are you hiding?

Leather Curer:

I am a follower of Hsu Hu.

Physician:

Then you are a necromancer.

Leather Curer:

No, I am a leather curer. Hsu Fu took me and many others on his second voyage. I don't want to go back to the savage land again. I want to go home to my family.

Physician:

(curious) Hsu Fu said it's fairyland.

Leather Curer:

(laments) Fairyland! What fairyland! There is nothing but jungles inhabited by barbarous aborigines of the stone ages! They have no language; know nothing about farming; they don't even have fishing boats, only canoes!

Physician:

(seeing the light) That's why Hsu Fu took

with him on his last voyage seeds and sprouts of plants and craftsmen of the hundred trades. He needed them to develop those wild islands!

(To the leather curer)

What's he up to this time?

Leather Curer:

He came back this time for some good archers and some weapons. One of the barbarian tribes on Pong Lai Island always makes trouble.

Physician:

Rumor has it that he has been made the king of Pong Lai.

Leather Curer:

A friendly tribe elected him chieftain.

Physician:

So he needs soldiers to protect himself.

Leather Curer:

Yes. Now that I've told the truth, will you let me go?

Physician:

(to himself) Shall I keep this man as witness and expose the scheme of Hsu Fu? (thinking for a while) Why should I help that tyrant; the sooner he dies the better for the people! (to the leather curer) You may go . . . go as fast as you can before I change my mind.

(The leather curer rushes off stage.)

A Worker:

(shouting down from the crest of the wall) Supervisor . . . supervisor . . . come up here and see! The Royal Barge and other boats are sailing out to sea!

(The physician and the workers run up the steps.)

Worker on crest:

I can see everything so clearly! Look, there is a black spot in the sea. It looks like a big fish! Ah, the Emperor is shooting at it himself! He got it! He got it! Look how it jumps! Oh . . . Oh . . . Oh . . . the Emperor falls down on the deck! He must have fainted!

CURTAIN

END OF SCENE ONE, ACT VI

SCENE TWO

Time:

A summer night in the same year (210 B.C.) The 12th year of the Ch'in Empire.

Place:

A room in the deserted Sha Chiu Palace, built by the defunct King of Chao.

Stage Setting:

A huge but dilapidated room, with cracks on the walls and spider webs on the fancy latticework of the windows. The room is very sparsely furnished with only a bed, a table and several thatched cushions. An oil lamp in an alcove in the wall sheds a dim light. The bed is at upstage left, and covered with a silk quilt. On the opposite wall is a moon-shaped window through which can be seen old trees with overhanging branches.

THE CURTAIN RISES

The Emperor is tossing and groaning in the bed. The long journey and illness tell visibly on his face. He looks gaunt and

haggard. Yen Niang sits at his bedside cooling him with a feathered fan. Two eunuchs, using cushions as pillows, are soundly asleep. It is stiflingly hot. Yen Niang keeps on wiping her perspiring forehead. Suddenly lightning flashes, followed by thunder and a summer shower. The windows flap on their loose hinges. Cooling winds sweep the room and Yen Niang sighs with relief. The Emperor lies quietly for a while, then turns in his bed and talks in his sleep. Some raindrops fall continuously on a piece of metal on the roof making a sound like the clash of swords.

Emperor:

(talking aloud in his sleep) Hey! Small boys! Are you training yourselves to be generals? . . . Hey! you are pretty good swordsmen! Not bad indeed! (a long pause) Of course I can lift it. WATCH!

(Pants a little, then smiles)

There's nothing to it. I can lift things heavier than this.

(Suddenly his voice sounds panicky)

What are you two doing? Hey! You are taking off your own heads! What! You hold your own heads in your hands! How can you do this? HELP! HELP! HELP! GHOST! GHOST! TWO GHOSTS! TWO SMALL GHOSTS! HELP! HELP!

(He sits up abruptly in his bed, wiping his forehead with a trembling hand, then looking about.)

Where am I?

Yen Niang:

(softly) We are in the deserted Sha Chiu Palace.

Emperor:

Sha Chiu Palace, north of Han Tan?

Yen Niang:

Yes, Your Majesty.

Emperor:

(frustrated) Get me out of this dirty dungeon!

Yeng Niang:

But, Your Majesty, there's no other place big enough to shelter the entire entourage and we couldn't go on. . . . Your Majesty fainted several times on the road.

Emperor:

I felt much more comfortable in the boat. Whose idea it was to go by road? My bones are shattering to pieces by the bumpings.

Yen Niang:

It was too slow sailing upstream against the current, and Your Majesty's illness is getting worse. We have to get back to Hsien Yang before. .

Emperor:

Before I die?

Yen Niang:

Before we can get better medical care.

Emperor:

Where's the wonder flower Hsu Fu brought back? Let me take it right away.

Yen Niang:

Your Majesty has already drunk its juice. It didn't help.

Emperor:

Ah! I was again fooled by that rogue!
(holding the arm of Yen Niang) Now I
don't even have strength to get angry!
Where is Hsu Fu now? I want to chop
off his head before I die.

Yen Niang:

He left soon after Your Majesty fell sick.
He sailed straight from Po Hai with the
archers for the fairyland.

Emperor:

(mockingly) Fairyland! Lin Tze Fungus!
Elixir of immortality! Oh, Yin Cheng . . .
Yin Cheng . . . you have been made a
laughing stock of the whole world! Oh!
I feel so tired! (lying down)

Yen Niang:

(trying to divert his thought) Your
Majesty had another nightmare? (wiping
his forehead with a kerchief.)

Emperor:

(sighs) I have nightmare the moment I
close my eyes. The dead ones all came
to life! Especially those two little ghosts.
They've been haunting me ever since . . .
ever since. . . (His voice trails off.) They
were timid little things. Who would know
they could become such fierce ghosts?
Worse even than Ching Keh's ghost!

Yen Niang:

Who were those little boys?

Emperor:

They were my stepbrothers, my mother's
bastards, sired by Lao Ai. I had them
killed. They were nice kids . . . but I had
to kill them! Their ghosts have been
haunting me . . . never let me go!

(Pulling Yen Niang a little closer)

Yen Niang, fear has dominated my life
ever since I was born! Fear, like an evil
spirit, has possessed me, driven me mad,
made me kill so many innocent people . . .
made me kill even my own father!

Yen Niang:

(surprised) Your own father?

Emperor:

(trying to avoid the subject) Put a few
more pillows behind my back. I have to
sit up. I can't breathe lying down.

(Yen obeys)

Yen Niang, I feel better now with the
cool air coming in.

(Sitting up)

Yen Niang, I am going to die!

Yen Niang:

No!

Emperor:

Yes, I know I'm dying. I feel life is
ebbing away! (with a bitter smile) How
foolish I've been to think I could live
forever!

(A gust of wind flickers the flame of the
lamp. The Emperor eyes the quivering
flame.)

Like a flame, life can be snuffed out with
a puff.

Yen Niang:

Your Majesty, please don't think too
much.

Emperor:

I did too little thinking. That's the

trouble with me. I've been in a hurry all my life. I never gave myself time to think. I made so many ghastly mistakes. (a pause) This long illness has given me time to think, to review all my past life. Some incidents are salient and vivid, others receding and blurred, but they all seem to have happened only yesterday. The fifty years of my life have passed away fast like a comet!

(In the soft lamp light the Emperor's face looks almost benign.)

Yen Niang:

(shocked at the change) Shall I bring Your Majesty some honey and water.

Emperor:

Ask the eunuch to do it. I want to talk to you.

Yen Niang:

(wakes up one of the eunuchs) Go and get some honey and water.

(Exit eunuch)

Emperor:

Yen Niang, now that death is at my door, I begin to realize that I've lived a very empty life . . . very lonely and desolate! I have denied myself the very thing that makes life worth living and the only thing I could take away with me from this world.

(coughs a little)

Yen Niang:

Your Majesty needs a rest. You talk too much already. You can talk to me tomorrow.

Emperor:

There'll be no tomorrow for me. I feel unusually elated. That's the prelude to death after a long illness. Let me talk.

(Pants a little)

My legalist teachers taught me that to love is to sin and I believed them. My mother loved me — I drove her insane; my father loved me — I had him poisoned; my eldest son loves me — I had him exiled; even my faithful servant Chao Chung who took care of me ever since I was born — I killed him! I've been like a man burning with thirst, but denied water; dying of hunger, but refused food; so parched with the want of love that my heart has turned as hard as stone, and I cannot even shed a tear, yet all the time I have avoided love like poison!

Oh, how my back aches! Yen Niang, massage my back!

(Yen massages his back)

Yen Niang, do you know why I like you best of all among the thousands of girls in my harem?

Yen Niang:

No, Your Majesty. Some of them are much prettier.

Emperor:

Indeed, but your eyes are different from the others. Only one woman had the same kind of eyes like yours.

Yen Niang:

May I know who she is, Your Majesty.

Emperor:

My mother.

Yen Niang:
(surprised) The Queen Mother?

Emperor:
(nods) If I ever loved anyone it was my mother. I worshipped her. I thought she was the most beautiful and courageous woman until . . . until . . . until one day I saw her making love to Lu Pu Wei . . . with my own eyes! Then she took the infamous Lao Ai as her lover. . . . She brought shame to the royal household and endangered my throne . . . but I still think she is the most beautiful; compared with her, all the other women are like mud dolls . . . until you came to my life. Yen Niang, I love you, I love you so much that I am going to make your son my heir.

Yen Niang:
(opening her eyes wide) My son! He was taken away from me the moment he was born! I've never seen him since and I don't even know where he is.

Emperor:
I had to. At that time you were only a slave, with no title whatsoever. I asked the queen to raise him so that he'll be entitled to succeed me.

Yen Niang:
Don't you think it's time to tell me where he is.

Emperor:
He is right here with us.

Yen Niang:
(shocked) No! Not Hu Hai!

Emperor:
Yes, it is Hu Hai.

Yen Niang:
(covering her face with her hands) No . . . no . . . no! Not him!

Emperor:
(drags Yen Niang into his arms) I've killed or driven away all the people who loved me. Even my own mother died hating me. I have only you now. Death is creeping on me. I can't move my legs. I am so frightened of going to the nether world alone. I want to take you with me. You are the only one I really love. (digging his fingers in her arm)

Yen Niang:
You are hurting me! (struggling to free herself)

(She stands up and walks to a safer distance.)

(coldly) Yin Cheng!

(The Emperor is shocked at hearing his name called. He opens wide his dull eyes and stares at her.)

Yen Niang:
Yin Cheng, you are asking a starving person for food, a thirsty one for water. No, I have no love for you.

Emperor:
(hoarsely) Is there someone else?

(Yen nods.)

(Fiercely) Who is HE?

Yen Niang:
Gen. Li Mu.

Emperor:
Li Mu of Chao?

(Yen nods again.)

Emperor:

It's a lie! You came to me a virgin.

Yen Niang:

I won't explain because you won't be able to understand. But I must warn you — don't make Hu Hai your heir. He is heartless and stupid. The Empire of Ch'in will topple with him as the ruler!

(The Emperor stares at her with stony eyes)

Besides, I, his mother, have been unfaithful to you.

Emperor:

(gnashing his teeth) Who is the adulterer?

Yen Niang:

I mean disloyal. I have plotted against you many times — I stole Yu Liao's war plans from your private archives; I conspired with the assassin Ching Keh; I shouted behind your back to betray your position to the blind Kao Chien Li.

Emperor:

(despairingly) Why didn't you kill me yourself?

Yen Niang:

(coldly) Because you are the father of my son!

Emperor:

(throws himself at Yen Niang with outstretched arms and clawing hands) You cheat! You are shameless! I'll strangle you!

(Yen dodges and the Emperor falls on the floor heavily. The sound awoke the

sleeping eunuch.)

Yen Niang:

(to the eunuch) Help His Majesty to his bed.

(The eunuch does as ordered. The Emperor is so heavy that it takes him a long time to get him on the bed. Meanwhile re-enters the other eunuch with a cup in his hand.)

Yen Niang:

Why did it take you so long to get some honey? Give it to me, quick!

(The eunuch quickly gives the cup to Yen. out of habit, she takes a sip.)

(angrily) It's just water! You rice barrel!

(She throws the cup on the ground.)

Eunuch:

I went to the supply officer. He wasn't there. I walked around for a while, didn't know what to do, then I yelled "Will someone get me an urn of honey?" In the darkness a weird voice answered: "There's not a drop of honey but plenty of blood!" I was so scared, so I just got a cup of water from the well and came back.

Emperor:

(wailing deliriously; his eyes dull and unseeing; his hands groping in the air aimlessly) Chao Kao! Chao Kao! Chao Kao!

Yen Niang:

(to eunuch) Get Chao Kao, hurry! (exit the eunuch)

(Thinking for a while, to the other eunuch)

Get Premier Li Sze to come too. The Emperor is dying!

(The other eunuch is about to leave.)

Wait! Prince Hu Hai should be here too. Get him.

(Exit the eunuch in a hurry.)

(talking to herself) It's Heaven's punishment, a justified punishment for a treacherous woman! I deserve to have a son like Hu Hai. (Gnashing her teeth) That despicable little beast, worse than his father! I hope he'll not be the Second Emperor, never! I must persuade the Emperor not to choose him.

(She goes over to the bedside of the Emperor.)

Emperor:
(weakly) Chao Kao! Chao Kao! Chao Kao!

Yen Niang:
Your Majesty, Your Majesty, please listen to me. Crown Prince Fu Soo is a very able, righteous and compassionate person. He'll make an excellent ruler. Please choose him as your successor.

Emperor:
Chao Kao! Chao Kao! Chao Kao!

Yen Niang:
That despicable eunuch is most cunning and scheming. I really don't know why you trust him more than your ministers! And of all those learned men you chose him to be Hu Hai's tutor. I'm sure it's

through his influence that Hu Hai has become such a hideous person!

Emperor:
Chao Kao! Chao Kao! Chao Kao!

Yeng Niang:
(sighs) I guess it's no use talking to you now! If you can still hear me, I beseech you not to choose Hu Hai . . . choose anyone from your other sons . . . anyone is better than Hu Hai!

Emperor:
Chao Kao! Chao Kao! Chao Kao!

Yen Niang:
(again to herself) I hope Li Sze will come before that damned eunuch! Why didn't the Emperor choose Li Sze to be Hu Hai's tutor instead of that infamous eunuch!

Emperor:
Chao Kao! Chao Kao! Chao Kao!

(Enter Chao Kao and the eunuch)

Chao Kao:
(hurries to the Emperor's bedside and kneels down) Your Majesty, Your Majesty, Chao Kao is here.

Emperor:
Chao Kao, write an edict for me to my first born, my heir Fu Soo, asking him to come to Hsien Yang to bury me . . . bury me. . . .

(Yen Niang heaves a sigh of relief.)

Chao Kao:
(reluctantly) Yes, Your Majesty.

Emperor:

(suddenly opens his eyes wide) Ching Keh! What do you want? You're soaked in blood! How can you still be alive? Who's your companion? He has no eyes but two black holes! . . . Why are you two pulling me? How dare you! I am the Emperor! Where are you two taking me? Help! Help! Help!

(The Emperor falls down from the bed. Chao Kao and the eunuch try very hard to put the struggling Emperor back to bed.)

Emperor:

Help . . . help . . . help . . . (His voice trails off.)

Chao Kao:

Your Majesty, Your Majesty, YOUR MAJESTY!

(The Emperor opens his eyes again then breathes his last. Chao Kao pulls of a thread of his own hair and places it under the Emperor's nostrils.)

Chao Kao:

(stand up) His Majesty, the First Emperor of Ch'in has ascended to Heaven!

(Enter Li Sze, Hu Hai and the other eunuch.)

Hu Hai:

(rushes to the bedside) Oh, my devine Sire! (shaking the body of the Emperor) My devine sire!

Chao Kao:

(cooly) The First Emperor is dead!

(Hu Hai kneels down and cries.)

Chao Kao:

(grabs Hu Hai's arm and pulls him up)

It's no time for tears! His Majesty, the First Emperor, before his ascension to Heaven, named you, Prince Hu Hai, as his successor. (Kneels down ceremoniously) Long Live the Second Emperor!

(Li Sze is about to kneel down too but was stopped by Yen Niang.)

Yen Niang:

(points to Chao Kao, angrily) Your Excellency, don't believe a word of what that treacherous eunuch has just said. I clearly heard the Emperor say, "Write to my first born, my heir Fu Soo, asking him to come to Hsien Yang to bury me."

Li Sze:

(shocked) Lady, is there any other witness?

Yen Niang:

(points to one of the two eunuchs) This eunuch must have also heard it.

Li Sze:

(to the eunuch) Will you verify what this lady has just said?

(The eunuch steals a furtive glance at Chao Kao, then at Yen Niang. He bows his head and remains silent.)

Li Sze:

(to Yen Niang) Since he won't answer, will you swear. . . .

Chao Kao:

(insolently) Li Sze, I admit that the Emperor said it, but it's up to me whether to write it down or not. I am the Keeper of the Royal Seal. (with a cunning smile) The First Emperor only said he wanted Fu Soo to come to Hsien Yang to bury him. He didn't say he wanted him to

succeed him. If he loved his first born, why should he have exiled him to Shang Chuen? It was very clear that the First Emperor loved Hu Hai most. Of all his twenty-odd sons, he only asked Hu Hai to travel with him.

Li Sze:

Chao Kao, don't argue anymore. The First Emperor's verbal edict clearly defined his intention — Crown Prince Fu Soo will succeed him. (To one of the eunuchs) Bring me the writing brush and a silk scroll. Chao Kao, get the Royal Seal. I am going to write the edict.

Chao Kao:

(to the eunuchs) You two stay where you are and don't you dare to leave here without my permission.

Li Sze:

(angrily) Chao Kao, how dare you defy my order!

Chao Kao:

Mr. Premier, you know very well that if Fu Soo becomes the Second Emperor, the Meng brothers will be the most powerful pair of the whole court. Meng Tien will be the Royal Guardian and Meng Yi will be the Premier. Your Excellency, may I ask, where will you be?

Li Sze:

(ignores Chao Kao, as if talking to himself) I was a commoner from Shang Tsai before I came to the court of Ch'in. For 27 years I worked faithfully and I've reached the zenith of my career. I think it's high time for me to retire and enjoy the rest of my years free of all official duties. I've long wished to go hunting with my youngest son and my faithful yellow dog in my native land.

Chao Kao:

Li Sze, you cannot get away so easily. You are very much entangled with the royal family. All your sons and daughters married princes and princesses.

Li Sze:

From now on, they'll have to look after themselves.

Chao Kao:

Li Sze, you are a very knowledgeable historian. You ought to know how Shang Yang died — he was torn apart by five horses! After all what he did for Ch'in! And Lu Pu Wei, for twenty years the power behind the throne, what happened to him? He was forced to drink the Cheng wine! Even though he was already exiled to the prefecture of Chu. Often times, when the heir apparents come to the throne, the first victims are their fathers' favorites.

Li Sze:

Chao Kao, your eloquence is wasted on me. I am determined to write the edict as the First Emperor willed.

Chao Kao:

(desperate) Li Sze, you leave me no choice. (taking out a dagger and points at Li) The Meng brothers hate me as if I were a poisonous snake. They would surely kill me as soon as they have a chance. I am desperate. Li Sze, either you cooperate or die!

Li Sze:

(sighs) I wish I could say "No" to you, but (sighs again) I'm such a coward!

Chao Kao:

(overjoyed) I knew you would cooperate with me. (slaps Hu Hai's back)

Congratulations, Your Majesty.

Hu Hai:

(worried) But I'm so young and inexperienced and I have 17 older brothers.

Chao Kao:

(laughs) Don't worry. Chao Kao will handle all your brothers and even your sisters (laughs again) and all the officials if they should oppose you. You stay in the deep palace and enjoy the luxurious life befitting an emperor. Chao Kao will tackle all the problems for you.

(Hu Hai still looks troubled)

Chao Kao:

Your Highness . . . oh, I should say Your Majesty. Don't be so doltish. Ch'in does not confer any land to its princes. If Fu Soo becomes the Second Emperor, you'll be reduced to a commoner. Now I ask you — do you want to be a ruler or be ruled?

(Hu Hai bows his head and says nothing.)

You are being very obtuse. If you hesitate now, you'll regret in the future. Now that I have the Royal Seal and was designated by the First Emperor to issue his will, I have the power to erect or depose his successor. If you go along with me, you can sit safely on the throne; if not, your life and death will be in the hands of others.

(Hu Hai thinks for a while, then nods his head.)

Chao Kao:

(smiles) I know you'll come around to my point of view. Being my student you

ought not be thick-headed. Now come with me to fetch the Royal Seal.

(Before he leaves he gives the dagger to one of the eunuchs.)

Chao Kao:

(to the eunuchs) Watch the Premier and Yen Niang. Don't let them leave this room.

(Exit Chao Kao and Hu Hai)

(Yen Niang drags one of the eunuchs aside and whispers something into his ear. Chao Kao suddenly re-appears.)

Chao Kao:

(with a wry smile) I predict that as soon as my back is turned, you'll be up to something. Yen Niang, you are wasting your breath. Those eunuchs, in fact all the First Emperor's intimates, are my ears and eyes, claws and teeth. I have even bought over the majority of the court officials. So don't try to do anything behind my back . . . ha . . . ha. (Leaves again)

(Yen Niang sits dejectedly on a cushion.)

(Li Sze walks toward the window, looks up at the sky and sighs.)

Li Sze:

(talking to himself) "Look back when you are forging ahead to make sure there is always enough room behind for you to retreat. He who knows contentment will not suffer disgrace; he who knows when to stop will not incur danger". Who said this to me? I can't remember now. It was so long ago!

Yen Niang:

Your Excellency, you are the head of hundred officials. You can't let that cold-blooded eunuch manipulate you like a puppet!

Li Sze:

Lady, I can't say I do not love power and the luxurious life I am having. I can't say I am not a coward! That eunuch has wielded much power since the First Emperor wanted to be a Taoist. He was the Emperor's only liaison officer. He issued the royal edicts and collected the official reports. Some petty officials feared him more than they did the Emperor.

(Re-enter Chao Kao and Hu Hai with a jade box and writing apparatus.)

Chao Kao:

(to the eunuch) Get the lamp from the alcove.

(The eunuch does so. He cuts the wick of the lamp, spreads the silk scroll on the table and pours out some liquid varnish into a pad.)

Chao Kao:

(speaks to Li Sze) Don't look so sullen. Should Fu Soo become emperor, the Meng brothers will ease you out in no time. Besides, Fu Soo hates the legalists and you are now leader of that school. Now, with Hu Hai as the Second Emperor, you and I will be the real power behind the throne. Congratulations!

Li Sze:

(shakes his head and sighs) Don't congratulate me, for a calamity is often a fortune in disguise and a fortune is often a cause of calamity!

Chao Kao:

This is no time to discuss philosophy! (Dips the writing brush in the varnish and hands it to Li Sze. Suddenly he laughs) This brush will write a death sentence to the one who invented it.

Li Sze:

(surprised) What do you mean? What do you intend to do?

Chao Kao:

Gen. Meng Tien invented the writing brush, now this brush will write his death sentence.

Li Sze:

(putting down the brush) I'll not write it. That's too much!

Chao Kao:

(with an ironic smile) Too much! Huh! Li Sze, prepare yourself for a real shock: another edict will go to Fu Soo with the First Emperor's sword and ask him to end his own life!

(Yen Niang rushes up to Chao Kao and slaps his face with all the strength she can muster.)

(Chao Kao covers his face with his hand. He does not fight back.)

(Yen Niang tries to give Chao Kao another slap.)

Hu Hai:

(grabs Yen Niang's hand) How dare you! Woman! I am going to have you buried with my father. Buried alive!

Chao Kao:

(with a knowing smile) Hu Hai, you cannot do that, not this one!

Hu Hai:

I am going to be the Second Emperor. I can do whatever I want. I'm going to have all of my father's harem buried in his tomb! All of them who have no sons or daughters.

Chao Kao:

This woman has a son.

Hu Hai:

(surprised) Who is he?

Chao Kao:

(slowly) His name is HU HAI!

(Hu Hai is greatly shocked and almost stupefied. Li Sze also looks surprised. Yen Niang covers her face and cries. Chao Kao takes the writing brush, sits on the cushion and writes the edicts himself while the rest stand there stunned. Suddenly the winds begin to blow. They waft leaves from the trees outside the window. The winds howl and the leaves groan as if thousands of wandering souls were demanding to have their wrongs righted. Mingled woefully with the mourning of the trees is heard a weird voice singing:

"The First Emperor dies;
The land divides.
Ch'in falls
and Hu thrives!"

Yen Niang:

(walks slowly toward Hu Hai. Points at Hu Hai's nose) Hu Hai thrives and Ch'in falls!

CURTAIN

(END OF SCENE TWO, ACT VI)

FINALE

Time:

Forty days after the death of the First Emperor of Ch'in.

Place:

The shore of the Ching River, a tributary of the Yellow River.

Scene:

The shore of the Ching River, where the earth is so soft that the beaten caravan road sinks below the earth level. Yonder, across the river, the city of Hsien Yang, capital of Ch'in, can be glimpsed. Above, the sun, shrouded by a yellow aura, overlooks the desolate scene.

THE CURTAIN RISES

A distant hubbub and sound of horses hoofs can be heard approaching. A few soldiers run onto the scene. They climb onto the bank from a furrowed road. With their feet oozing in and out of the loess earth, they search along the river for a while, then face one another shaking their heads. One of them looks up, points at the jaundiced sun and shouts:

Soldier:

No wonder there isn't any boat. A sand storm is coming. Better hurry back and tell the Chief Eunuch that we can't cross the river today."

(All the rest nod in agreement. Exit all soldiers.)

(From offstage come their shouts: "Halt! Turn back! A sand storm is coming!")

Chao Kao:

(offstage) We'll have to cross the river

today. His Majesty is very ill!

A soldier:

(offstage) But there isn't any boat.

Chao Kao:

(offstage) All right, all of you follow the Premier and Prince Hu Hai to the courier station. The royal consort and I will go to the river bank to offer some sacrifice to the River God. He will grant us safe passage. Pull the carriage over there.

(Sound of carriage approaching. Chao Kao walks in front of a curtained carriage. A groom pulls the horses to a stop.)

Chao Kao:

(to the groom) Unharness the horses and take them for a walk and don't come back till I call for you. The Emperor may want to come out to breathe some fresh air and His Majesty does not want people to see him when he is sick.

Groom:

Yes, Your Highness. (bows and leaves with the horses)

Chao Kao:

(covers his nose before he pulls open the curtain of the carriage) Yen Niang, please come out.

(Yen Niang comes out from the carriage and as soon as her feet touch the ground she begins to vomit.)

Yen Niang:

Chao Kao, I can't stand it any longer.

Chao Kao:

(pointing to the city of Hsien Yang) Tomorrow we'll cross the Ching River and as soon as we reach Hsien Yang, we'll

announce the death of the First Emperor, then you'll be freed from accompanying the stinking corpse.

Yen Niang:

Then I want to go far, far away, away from this vicious and hateful country, away from all you tricky, scheming and murderous people! I heard Hsu Fu has found the fairy islands. I want to go there and never, never come back again!

Chao Kao:

(smiling sheepishly) You needn't go to those barbarous islands. You'll soon be the Queen Mother and I'll be the guardian of the new emperor. Both of us will live in the Ah Fong Palace and enjoy life!

(trying to embrace her.)

Yen Niang:

(pushing Chao away from her with all her strength) How dare you! I am going to tell the premier that you are not a real eunuch, and you'll be beheaded for that!

Chao Kao:

(with a bitter laugh) I am a REAL eunuch. But as the saying goes; "A man not born blind will not forget the habit of looking; a man not born crippled will often look for his shoes." Though a eunuch, I can't help being attracted by women.

Yen Niang:

Leave me alone! There are thousands of younger and prettier women in the harem.

Chao Kao:

But you are especially attractive to me. It's because you look like a lady I once admired and worshipped.

Yen Niang:
The Queen Mother.

grabs her. He puts his hands around Yen Niang's neck.)

Chao Kao:
(surprised) How do you know?

Hsien Yang is just across the river. Your service is no longer needed. I'll send you straight to your beloved husband!

Yen Niang:
Never mind. Chao Kao, I warn you! If Hu Hai really becomes the Second Emperor, I'll be the Queen Mother and I'll kill you if you even dare as much as touch me!

(He tightens his hands. At this juncture, a man jumps out from his hideout behind a small mound of loess earth with a huge club in his hand and knocks Chao Kao down. He then quickly pushes open the curtain of the carriage and raises his club! But his club stops in midair.)

Chao Kao:
(laughing a loud) Hu Hai! He's just a puppet! I made him and I can break him! He is so used to listening to me that even if I call a moose a horse, he dares not differ.

Man:
(stutters) Dead! Already rotten! (drops his club)

Yen Niang:
You ungrateful pig! The First Emperor, though a tyrant, treated you like a brother.

Yen Niang:
(weakly) Forty days already! Rotten to the bones now! I've traveled a thousand miles with that stinking corpse!

Chao Kao:
(gnashing his teeth) A brother! What a brother! He had me castrated! Now, what am I, neither a man nor a woman! I can't enjoy life, can't have sons to carry on my name! I hate him! I'm going to avenge the three thousand eunuchs and the seven hundred thousand builders of the Ah Fong Palace whom he castrated! I'm going to kill all his sons, all his daughters, HIS ENTIRE POSTERITY! (The eunuch's eyes redden and his whole body trembles and his voice becomes more and more high-pitched. Hatred makes him act like a lunatic.) I've waited . . . waited . . . waited so patiently for twenty years. Now the time has come for me to avenge! (Bursts out laughing)

Man:
I thought it was the fish that stank!

(Puts his hand over his nose.)

You've concealed his death so well.

Yen Niang:
(points to the unconscious Chao Kao) It was all that treacherous eunuch's plot. He wrote two false edicts commanding Crown Prince Fu Soo and Gen. Meng Tien to commit suicide. He concealed the death of the First Emperor so that no one would suspect that the edicts were forged.

Man:
(picks up his club) I'd like to finish that rogue off!

(Yen Niang starts to run but Chao Kao

Yen Niang:

(holds his arm) Let him live. He'll hasten the downfall of Ch'in quicker than all of us put together.

(The man is about to leave but Yen Niang calls him back.)

Yen Niang:

Kindly accompany me to the next village.

(The man nods. Exit Yen Niang and the would-be assassin.)

(The wind begins to blow and yellow sand billows down. The curtains of the carriage fly wide open. The corpse of the First Emperor lies on the seat of the coach, with black spots all over his swollen face. The coverlet is on the floor revealing the corpse fastened by ropes to the seat. As the sand thickens, an unseen narrator's voice is heard.)

Narrator:

This play tells the story of King Cheng from the time he was 16 (243 B.C.) through his accession as The First Emperor of Ch'in at the age of 39, to his death at 50.

The Ch'in Empire collapsed two years after his death. It lasted only 14 years.

The empire, though so short-lived, ushered in a new era in Chinese history. A central administration replaced the feudal system. Iron replaced copper. Weights, measurements and currency were standardized. A common written language was introduced. New cities and new highways were built; and, as a bulwark against the barbarian hordes in the north, the Great Wall, one of the seven great wonders of the world, was constructed.

Despite all his achievements, the First Emperor is execrated as one of the most inhuman and ruthless rulers of all times.

Of all the construction projects undertaken during his reign, only the Great Wall, stretching 1,400 miles inland from the sea, remains, a silent witness to the vicissitudes of Chinese history.

CURTAIN

END OF THE WHOLE PLAY

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Cover: Ch'iu Ying 仇英, ca. 1494-1552, *Travelers in the Chien Ko Pass in Winter*. This celebrated painting shows the hardships borne by travelers in olden times. See C. H. Lowe's article on pp. 65-75.

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A Case of Cultural Transaction: American Adaptation of the Japanese Haiku

Wong Kin-yuen
(王建元)

As in most other cases in literary adaptation, American poets and critics had their first encounter with the Japanese haiku through translations. Conceivably, their initial interest in this unique Oriental poetic form may have been aroused through reading some English translations. We can also put forward another conjecture that, following this flurry of enthused admiration, theories on translating haiku and its actual practice may have formed the second stage of this literary transaction, until a more mature adaptation was eventually reached. This paper, therefore, addresses itself first to a survey of some of the problems in rendering Japanese haiku into English. It then tries to chart out its impact on Western arts in the early 20th century such as film techniques, impressionistic paintings and imagistic poetry. These will in turn become a referential field from which the actual passage from imitation, through influence, to originality and creativity on the part of the so-called "American haiku poets" can be described.

Let us take the advantage of having a famous poem by Bashō, the haiku master, for demonstration:

古池也蛙飛びこむの音

Furnike-ya!
Kawazu tobi-komu
Mizu-no oto!

The samples of different translations are in order:

Henderson	Old pond — and a frog-jump-in Water-sound.
Blyth	The old pond, A frog jumps in — Plop!
Cohen	Moosy pond; frog coming in — Splash!
Harold Stewart	The old green pond is silent; here the hop Of a frog plumbs the evening stillness: plop!
Yasuda	Ancient pond un- stirred Into which a frog has plunged, A splash was heard
Maeda	Old pond a frog in-leaping water-note

The absolute conciseness of haiku, with each Japanese word charged with so heavy a meaning, each image giving so much multifarious reverberations, makes translation all the more intriguing and difficult.¹ The first problem comes to mind is its special form of structure. There is, for example, no punctuation mark in Japanese haiku; pauses are determined by the "hireji" or cutting words, suggesting precisely its incompleteness of message. Also, because the rhythm in Japanese haiku is dependent on its word order, then this rhythm is untranslatable. Moreover, like the Chinese, Japanese language has neither articles nor inflexions indicating personal determinations in verbs, while these qualities may be rich in poetic expression in terms of its subtle nuances (e.g. merging the subject and object into one), they present more problems in translation.

The controversy that whether the 17 syllables form (5-7-5) should be observed in translation or not has long been a bone of contention for translators. The fact that Japanese haiku poets themselves allow variation in the number of syllables encourages translators to bypass this rule. Moreover, as observed by Henderson, "Japanese haiku 'Syllables' used for the 5-7-5 count are not English syllables. They are rather units of duration."² Thus from the point of view of phonetic structure, the resulting Japanese poem is far lighter than an English line with 17 syllables. Cohen agrees that this phonetic approximation should be ignored, and in addition to Henderson's observation, he points out that "the Japanese words involved have more syllables than the corresponding English words (e.g., the "Old Pond" haiku of Bashô), in which case to fill them out in the translation is to pad the poem and

thus destroy the concentration that makes haiku what it is."³ Again, Roy Teele suggests that "thirteen or fourteen syllables would be closer to the weight of the Japanese poem, because of the difference between Japanese and English syllable-counting."⁴

Quite opposite to this spectrum of critical viewpoints in translating haiku, Cana Maeda is rigorous enough to promise an almost exact translation based on an analysis of parallel prosodic structure.

On the basis of what might be called a non-metrical prosodic analysis, applicable to both Japanese and English verse, two expressions which convey virtually the same thought and the same feeling have, as far as I have been able to ascertain, the same number of underlying prosodic units. The assumption is that, in translating a Japanese poem into English, if every possible correspondence is realized within the framework of this particular equivalence, the form of the translation will inevitably turn out to be the counterpart of the original.⁵

What Cana Maeda does is not to follow the 5-7-5 pattern, but to divide it into 3 or 4 prosodic units with two syntactic breaks at the end of the first unit and at the end of the unit before the last. This enables her to find a similar phonological structure in English. She finds out that "there is . . . a definite correspondence in their linguistic structure; namely, there is invariably an equal number of the groups of words into which each sentence is segmentable according to the meaning and syntax."⁶ Therefore, by a comparative analysis of some limited examples which represent the statistical demonstration of a feasible approximation based on a "stress pattern" approach, she concludes that "if a haiku

is so translated that the English version has an equal number of prosodic units coincident with a similar syntactic and semantic structure, the English poem, though differing in the particular rhythmic patterns of form, may nevertheless 'be' to the speakers of English as the original is felt to 'be' by members of the Japanese linguistic community."⁷

It seems that, from the resulting samples given by her at the back of the article, Cana Maeda promises more than she can bring out. The first line in her rendering of the Bashô poem is similar to the others even though she claims that the two stresses in "old pond" correspond to the original "furuike ya" and she theorizes that "the sound 'is' important but only because it makes one aware of the primal silence which had engulfed the old pond before a living thing touched its stagnancy."⁸ As pointed out by Henderson, the Japanese sound "ya" here in the first prosodic unit serves almost like a dash or colon in English punctuation, its sound being untranslatable.⁹ "Ya" is also a cutting word or "hireji," whose function as explained by Ueda is "to show that the flow of the meaning is interrupted there" for the purpose of achieving a sense of ambiguity.¹⁰ Thus in Maeda's translation, she simply ignores both the punctuational and the "cutting" qualities of "ya" and instead, she includes it in a prosodic unit by its sound value. As to the other translations, Blyth's article "the" seems to be redundant, and Cohen's adjective "Mossy" is there only to project his knowledge of the background when the poem was made onto his translation, thus, an undesirable exhibition of translator's effort. It is surprising that, with a rather thorough knowledge of haiku shown in his book

The Japanese Haiku, Mr. Kenneth Yasuda could have presented such an eliciting interpretation on his own by adding the word "unstirred," in order to fit the external form of five syllables.

In the second line, again, Henderson's "frog-jump-in" with hythens, is closer to the original than the other translations although first, the conjunction "and" is there obviously to help fitting the number of syllables, and second it is probably bad English itself. The translation of the last line is the center of interest. Maeda, once again, has her thesis:

... the only words that can be used within the form are often the best for constructing the same sound devices as those used in the original . . . "Water-note" is suggestive of the same non-reverberating sound expressed by "mizu no oto."¹¹

First of all, the assertion that the sound of "mizu no oto" is non-reverberative is subject to argument. But at any rate, the meaning of the phrase, as far as our reacting imagination can reach, is reverberation in nature. One can, of course, argue to the extreme that the non-reverberative quality of the sound can all the more bring out the reverberative quality of the meaning, a case for the Zen world view. Still, the English "water-note" does not seem to perform so magical a function as Maeda claims. By trying to bring across the sound quality, she has sacrificed the suggestiveness of its multifarious implication and the unity with the whole poem in a sense of suddenness. Thus, R.H. Blyth's simple "plop" can do as much, if not better than the other.¹²

A good translation, of course, depends on how well the translator understands his

subject matter. But even a superficial appreciation of its aesthetic value must have had a tremendous impact on the Western art in the areas of film technique, impressionistic painting, and finally poetry. The radiating adaptability of haiku is seen in these realms of arts as a uniting force which binds modern arts together. Here, Ezra Pound's legendary creation of the "Metro" poem is inevitably a convenient point of departure for discussion:

The apparition of these faces in the crowd:
Petals, on a wet, black bough.¹³

Pound's story of how he finally came down to this two-line poem is too well known to repeat, only what he said directly about haiku would merit our attention:

The Japanese have the same sense of exploration. They have understood the beauty of this kind of knowing (i.e., 'imagistic' as opposed to 'lyric' writing) . . . The Japanese have evolved the form of the hokku.

The fallen blossom flies back to its branch: A butterfly.

Pound continues:

That is the substance of a very well-known hokku. . . . The one-image poem is a form of super-position; that is to say it is one idea set on top of another. I found it useful for getting out of the impasse left by my metro emotion.¹⁴

The main technique here is "the super-position." It is enhanced by impressionistic painting on the one hand, in which a raw applying of one stroke of yellow and another of blue would make the intended green more vivid,

since the one who looks at it is asked to blend the colors himself, and, on the other hand, by the cinematic theory of montage which talks about how the simultaneous presence of two images creates a "qualitative" result,¹⁵ comparable to Pound's theory of "planes in relation."¹⁶ It is apparent that what attracts these Western artists in haiku remains on the level of structural composition. It is nothing more than a fact that this super-position technique in composition is happily discovered from the East at such a time when modern arts in the West are being developed along a parallel path. As Pound vacillated between the enigma of "Precision and Suggestion" (as termed by Wai-lim Yip), this technique emancipated him from his earlier self-imposed linguistic bondage so that he could fully develop the "sophisticated indirection and suggestiveness in the midst of clear, striking images"¹⁷ in his haiku-like "metro" poem.

But the "metro" poem is not a haiku. R.E. Smith, in trying to decide whether this poem can be called a haiku or not, concludes that "although Pound seems to have grasped the external method of expression employed by haiku poets, he does not seem to have understood their conception of the intrinsic nature of 'true' haiku."¹⁸ Just like other haiku-like poems by other imagists as traced by Earl Miner in his *The Japanese Tradition in British and American Literature*, the "metro" poem merely takes over one phase of haiku and uses it in a Western context. Thus when the poem is evaluated in terms of haiku aesthetics, unfavorable criticism is surely in order. Kenneth Yasuda comments that Pound's poem is a failure, and in support of this criticism, he quotes John Gould Fletcher

that "Pound's effort is not an unqualified success since the relation of certain beautiful faces seen in a Paris Metro station to petals on a wet tree branch is not absolutely clear."¹⁹ Thus Yasuda, having compared Pound's poem with the haiku Pound quoted, concludes with these words:

The comparison between the two poems seems most unfortunate, since the Japanese poem succeeds where Pound's fails. . . . That is to say, the poem is lacking in unity, in that forceful intensity of poetic vision and insight which alone can weld the objects named into a meaningful whole. In contrast, the relationship between the objects named in the haiku is quite clear.²⁰

But the fact that the "relation between the two images in the poem is not absolutely clear" does not constitute a "lacking in unity in a meaningful whole." Mr. Yasuda seems to have ignored the fact that it is the very element of deliberate incompleteness that makes a good haiku, and this very suggestiveness is what Pound has been striving for. Therefore, Yasuda's unfavorable judgment has hardly answered the question of why Pound's poem cannot be called a haiku. But then, what does the poem lack in order to be a good haiku poem, putting aside, of course, the problem of external form? Donald Keene's observation on the issue seems relevant here:

The haiku . . . must contain two elements. . . . One of the elements may be the general condition — the end of autumn, the stillness of the temple grounds, the darkening sea — and the other the momentary perception. The nature of the elements varies, but there should be the two electric poles between which the spark will leap for

the haiku to be effective; otherwise it is no more than a brief statement. That is the point which has been missed by . . . Western imitators of the haiku form.²¹

It seems that while taking so much pains to arrive at his "first intensity" of contrast or conflict of two images, Pound is not aware of the Zen philosophy of "harmony in conflict," which is essential in haiku. Thus the "metro" poem is not a haiku because it has only accomplished half of the job of a haiku, namely: it has set up a juxtaposition of contrast without a return to harmony as a whole. Let us look back at the haiku Pound quotes:

The fallen blossom flies back to its branch: A butterfly.

Here, out of the contrast of the "fallen blossom," a symbol of death, to the "butterfly," a living object with action, the whole experience is wound up in a sense of natural harmony of universal truth. There is a connectedness out of disconnectedness, in which the whole nature is presented in a seemingly conflicting scene but ultimately at peace. Another way of explaining the difference in Pound's poem and this haiku is by comparing Basho's attitude toward Synesthesia to that of the Symbolists. Ueda points out that

Synesthesia presumes an attitude that accepts the ultimate interrelatedness of all things and experience. Basho's synesthesia, however, seems to differ significantly from its counterpart in French symbolist poetry. French symbolists used synesthesia in such a way as to create a shocking effect and the beauty of artifice; their beauty was the perfume of amber, musk, benjamin, and incense — violent, sensual, artificial,

sophisticated, often decadent and even abnormal. But the effect of Bashô's synesthesia is like the fragrance of daffodils or the wild ducks' cry over the evening sea — faint, natural, simple, primitive, and never extravagant or shocking. This, of course, stems from Bashô's basic attitude toward life — *sabi*, *shiori*, and "return to nature."²²

Also, Ueda brings forth Bashô's poetic principles of Fragrance, Reverberation and Reflection. They are "poetic principles to the impressionistic ways in which different parts of a poem are related, but they also suggest the interrelatedness of all things in the world."²³ Such a rounding toward ultimate harmony from seemingly conflicting images is what Pound's poem lacks and thus cannot be categorized as a genuine haiku.

Having gone through an inevitable stage in which the imitation of external form plays an unevenly great role in the composition at the expense of its substance, American poets begin to incorporate in their poetry a touch of the haiku spirit for a change. Bashô, our haiku master, defines what he means by "poetic spirit":

... the poetic spirit that leads one to follow the ways of the universe and to become a friend with things of the seasons. For a person who has the spirit, everything he sees becomes a flower, and everything he images turns into a moon.²⁴

But this poetic spirit is to be nurtured through a paradox of two seemingly opposing attitudes. On the one hand, a poet should aim at a "high spiritual attainment" of "*sabi*" or objective and non-emotional loneliness, and on the other, he should lead a life of *laity*, or acquire an "understanding of the feelings

of plain men in ordinary life."²⁵ By "*sabi*," or this impersonal loneliness, the poet is able to transcend his human sentiments in a process of dehumanizing himself, and thus he can dissolve into nature, to "immerse himself into the heart of an object or an incident that he proposes to sing about, and to catch the impersonal mood it shares with the universe." Thus a poet is to "detach himself from his emotions and to enter into the object of nature."²⁶ But this "*sabi*," the "feeling in which the soul touches the Absolute,"²⁷ is to be cultivated through ordinary sentiments. Bashô said that "the world of the haiku includes all things in existence, elegant or not elegant; it contains warblers, blossoms, and the moon, but it does not exclude a muddy crow, a bird's droppings, or a horse's dung. These are also part of nature."²⁸

With the detachment of "*sabi*" and the appreciation of a plain way of living, Bashô brings forth the notion of "lightness" which is "the beauty of things plain and ordinary," and "the beauty of naivete rather than of sophistication." This "lightness," reminding us of Chao-chou's "ordinary mind," (平常心) then gives rise to the element of humor, because "lightness is the quality that detaches a man from worldly concerns while he is immersed in the mire, and that is precisely what makes humor possible."²⁹ When Bashô was held up for three days by wind and rain in a stable, he made this poem with a smile:

蚤虱馬の尿する枕元

fleas lice
horse pissing
by the pillow.³⁰

When Gary Snyder is "Hiking in the

Totsugawa Gorge," he incidentally amuzes himself in seeing all things of human life with a Bashô spirit, elegant or not:

pissing
watching
a waterful³¹

To Gary Snyder also, "each day is a journey and the journey itself home."³² One possible way of reading his poetry is to take a Bashô approach along with an understanding of his *sabi* spirit. When watching the mountain on the way of his travel, which he calls it an art, Snyder writes:

two butterflies
a chilly clump of mountain
flowers.

and also:

leaning in the doorway whistling
a chipmunk popped out
listening³³

If not in form, these poems are certainly haiku in spirit. The conflicting but harmonized images, the incomplete presentation without intellectualization or reflection, and most important of all, the tacit but deep understanding of humanity, the detached sentiment of acceptance of this world, all these are what we have been discussing as the pre-requisites of haiku. The following examples best display these characteristics though they are parts of some longer poems:

September mountains,
ripe huckleberries
a few elderly mosquitoes with

chilly wings³⁴

High tide.
Where the rocks were
Now there are fish.³⁵

But merely to adapt haiku in its spirit can hardly be legitimate to retain its name. Since haiku is a form of poetry which best illustrates the perfect combination of form and content, both external form and intrinsic spirit are equally indispensable in our generic consideration. Now, we are led to ask these questions: Why is it that a haiku is written in such a structure of 5-7-5? What aesthetic qualities are produced with such a form? What does the form have to do with the content so as to create a piece of art?

Yasuda observes that haiku is a "form of direct experience." First of all, a haiku poet acquires a "haiku attitude" of "readiness for an experience for its own sake." He quotes Ernst Cassirer to support the direct experience of aesthetics: "If we consult immediate experience unmixed with reflection, the opposition of subject and object is shown to be wholly foreign to it. . . . What is grasped by consciousness here and now 'is' and is precisely in the form offered by direct experience."³⁶ Again, Otsuji has expressed a similar view that when "the relationship between the subject and object is forgotten — we can experience the most aesthetic moment. This is what is implied when it is said that one goes into the heart of created things and becomes one with nature."³⁷

The length of this "haiku moment" is, of course, very short, so short as to transcend temporality in what Yasuda calls a state of "ah-ness," as the beholder of something beautiful can only "give one breath-long exclamation of delight."

The intent of all haiku, therefore, is the rendering of such a moment, and it is Yasuda's contention that "the length of the line for a haiku thought must have the same length as the duration of the single event of 'ah-ness,' which is a breath's length."³⁸ Consequently, the length of haiku is an ideal expression of such an experience in that the form approximates the content and the mutual incorporation of the two produces the aesthetic moment in its totality. Now, the reason for translating one line of haiku into 3 lines in English is that a haiku can, in most cases, be divided into 3 units within a simple breath's length of "ah-ness." Yasuda gives three basic elements of Where, What and When to its structure and explains their relationship as exemplified in this poem:

Where	On the withered bough
What	A crow alone is perching;
When	Autumn evening now.

He goes on to explain that "the 'Where, What and When' then are the properties which constitute that experience, the necessities to make that experience meaningful and alive." Thus he concludes that the structure of 5-7-5 best suits the expression of a unified haiku moment because "the insight into felt objects at the haiku moment can be grasped only through a unified, well-ordered whole corresponding with the insight. For this reason, a formalistic structure, of which balance, harmony, and symmetry are salient qualities, seems best suited for realizing a haiku moment."³⁹

There are, to be sure, problems existing between Japanese and English linguistically, culturally and religiously (i.e., Zen Buddhism; the use of kireji and seasonwords, etc.), for exact

adaptation of the Japanese haiku into English. Generally speaking, however, that such a form can approximately be adapted should now be agreed upon. Now the time is ripe for the American poets to write haiku in a similar form as well as in spirit. In his "Suggestions for Writing Haiku in English," James Hackett presents himself as a disciple of Bashô, and a conformist in form and content. Some of his suggestions read:

3. Contemplate natural objects closely
... unseen wonders will reveal themselves.
4. Interpenetrate with nature. Allow subjects to express their life through you. "That art Thou."
6. Write about nature just as it is ...
be true to life!
11. Write in three lines which total approximately 17 syllables. Many haiku experiences can be well expressed in the Japanese line arrangement of 5, 7, 5 syllables — but not all.⁴⁰

James Hackett, a native of Seattle, U.S.A. began to be interested in haiku after an accident in 1950. Haiku, since then, became his way of living awareness and he has published 4 volumes of *Haiku Poetry* in 1968. Let us look at his poem which won a first prize in the *American Haiku* and Japan Air Lines Contest in 1964:

A bitter morning:
Sparrows sitting together
Without any necks.⁴¹

This is a haiku creation in English, both form and spirit. It reveals a genuine touch of the real nature out there, a feeling of direct experience and an immediate intuition. There is a vague sense of detachment, but at the same

time, an understanding awareness of nature attuned to the bitterness of the weather. These squatting sparrows without necks demonstrate amply the paradox of togetherness and Bashô's loneliness. This paradox is yet set against another paradox of external coldness and the warmth inside the birds, and the total effect is one of conflicting harmony, a tacit acceptance of the universe. There is an acute feeling akin to melancholy with an apparent absence of effort when the poet dissolves himself into this haiku moment.

This moment, to be sure, can take a lighter form in sentiment. We are to identify ourselves with the kitten, and are to be pleased when being teased by nature into a frenzy:

Falling leaves playing
with the breezes tease the kitten
into a frenzy.⁴²

One final example will do justice to our haiku poet:

In this empty web,
left by a will to be free:
a pair of small wings.⁴³

A common scene, an incomplete utterance, a seemingly opposing situation, but suggests all. This is a readiness of

receptivity of life. To explain it is to violate its subtle nuances. The whole enigma of human existence masks its weight felt at a turn of contemplation. A pair of small wings left in an empty web, that is all and that is it. But how lifeful of its suggestion! In the Preface of his *Haiku Poetry*, our poet acclaims:

Characteristic of true haiku is a spirit of Suchness, wherein nature is reflected just as it is. Since lifefulness, not beauty, is to me the real quality of haiku, the reader should bear in mind that my poems are not intended to captivate with art. They seek rather to reveal, by reflection, the wonders of natural creation. I am a life worshipper, not an apostle of poetry or art; it is to lifefulness that my poems aspire. I have long believed that haiku's real treasure is its touchstone of the present . . . the very pulse of life itself.⁴⁴

No other ways can affirm lifefulness so much in such a feathery delicacy of touch as the will to be free by this pair of small wings. The world being a web, life is to be liberated by such a will. This poem has come a long way, since the discovery of Japanese haiku by Americans. It has gone through several stages of development and now it has a life of its own. With this poem, we feel safe to say that there is such a thing as Haiku in English.

NOTES

¹ Among many introductions and discussions on the form of Haiku, I will just quote Henderson's four general rules:

1. consists of 17 Japanese syllables (5-7-5)
2. contains at least some reference to nature (other than human nature)
3. refers to a particular event (i.e., it is not a generalization)
4. presents that event as happening now — not in the past.

four rules, of course, by no means exclude exceptions. Henderson himself notes, "None of these general rules' is followed a full 100% of the time although very nearly so. The one most frequently broken is rule 1. The small number of exceptions of the other rules are usually more apparent than real."

- 2 Every Japanese syllable either is a short vowel or ends with one. Each is represented by its own "kana" symbol or "character" and is counted as one unit. A nasal "n" sound has a special kana symbol and also counts as one unit. A long vowel is written with 2 characters and is counted as 2 units. E.G. "Onjoji" (O-n-jo-o-ji) is counted as 5 units. Furthermore, a doubled consonant, which automatically entails a pause (as in the English "rat-tail:), is counted as an extra unit. E.G. "Nippon (Ni-p-po-n) would count as 4 units. It is worth nothing that the Japanese word "Ji-on" — usually translated as "syllable" — literally means "character-sound."

Haiku in English, pp. 14-15.

- 3 *To Walk in Seasons: An Introduction to Haiku* (Tokyo: Charles and Tuttle, 1972), p. 11.
- 4 Roy E. Teele points this out in the summing-up "Discussion" of the special issue on Japan in *Literature East and West*, 9, No. 3 (1965), 246.
- 5 "On Translating the Haiku Form" in *HJAS*, 29 (1969), 131-132.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 136.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 163.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 164.
- 9 *Haiku in English*, p. 33.
- 10 Makoto Ueda, *Literary and Art Theories in Japan* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Press of Western Reserve University, 1967), p. 155.
- 11 "On Translating the Haiku Form," p. 164.
- 12 Blyth observes: Against this translation it may be urged that "plop" is an unpoetical, rather humorous word. To this I would answer, "Read it over slowly, about a dozen times, and this association will disappear largely." Further, it may be said, the expression "plop" is utterly different in sound from "mizu no oto." This is not quite correct. The English "sound of the water" is too gentle, suggesting a running stream or brook. The Japanese word "oto" has no onomatopoeic value much nearer to "plop." *Zen in English Literature and Oriental Classics* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1960), p. 217.
- 13 To highlight, as it were, its oriental connection, the poem is quoted from Earl Miner's *The Japanese Tradition in British and American Literature* (Princeton: University Press, 1958), p. 114.
- 14 *Fortnight Review*, XCVI (September 1, 1914), 471. Reprinted in *Quadier-Brzeska: A Memoir*, pp. 94-109.
- 15 Sergei Eisenstein, *Film Sense*, ed. and trans. Jay Leyda (New York: The World Publishing Co., 1957), pp. 7-8.
- 16 *Quadier-Brzeska: A Memoir*, p. 167.
- 17 This is quoted from Wai-lim Yip's chapter on "Precision or Suggestion" in *Ezra Pound's Cathay* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 62.
- 18 Richard E. Smith, "Ezra Pound and the Haiku" in *College English*, 26, (1965), 523.
- 19 Quoted in the "Introduction" of *The Japanese Haiku* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1957), p. xviii.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. xviii. Also, in another section of the book, Yasuda pursues the issue further and criticizes that in Pound's poem, "the relationship between the two elements . . . unclear and prohibitively

private, . . . where the unrelatedness is a disintegrating force and the experience is not unified.”
see p. 65.

- 21 *Japanese Literature: An Introduction for Western Readers* (London, 1953), pp. 39-41.
- 22 *Literary and Art Theories in Japan*, p. 163.
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. 170.
- 24 Quoted by Veda in his *Literary and Art Theories in Japan*, pp. 147-148.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 148; p. 165.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 156; p. 158.
- 27 Heinrich Dumoulin, *A History of Zen Buddhism*, trans. Paul Peachey (New York: Pathaom Books, 1963), p. 237.
- 28 Quoted from Veda's *Literary and Art Theories in Japan*, p. 164.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 166.
- 30 Quoted from Bashô's *Oku-No-Hosomichi (Back Roads to Far Towns)*, trans. Cid Corman and Kamaike Susumu (New York: Grossman Publishing Inc., 1968), p. 75.
- 31 *Regarding Wave* (New York: New Directions Books, 1970), p. 74.
- 32 This is Bashô's sentence in *Back Roads to Far Towns*, p. 15. I use this quotation to describe Snyder because his spirit in travelling is similar to that of Bashô's. This is confirmed by Snyder's quoting Bashô himself for the opening of his collection of poetry *The Back Country*:

“ . . . So — when was it — I, draun like blown cloud, couldn't stop dreaming of roaming,
roving the coast up and down. . . ”

See *A Range of Poems* (London: Fulorum Press, 1966), p. 111.

- 33 *Earth House Hold* (New York: New Directions Book, 1957), p. 7.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 98.
- 35 *Regarding Wave*, p. 58.
- 36 *Japanese Haiku*, p. 13; p. 10 & p. 12.
- 37 *Otsuji*, p. 4.
- 38 *Japanese Haiku*, p. 30; p. 31.
- 39 *Ibid.*, p. 41; p. 62.
- 40 *Haiku Poetry*, Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Japan Publication Inc., 1968), p. 51.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- 42 *Ibid.*, p. 5.
- 43 *Haiku Poetry*, Vol. 3, p. 11.
- 44 *Haiku Poetry*, Vol. 1, p. iii.



Wine in Chinese Poetry

Owen D. Kelly

1. Wine in Early Chinese Poetry

Wine has been the subject of the poetic impulse from the very beginnings of Chinese literature. *The Book of Odes* (*Shih Ching* 詩經), written between the twelfth and sixth centuries B.C., is the oldest book of poetry extant and it contains numerous references to wine, in differing contexts.

The second great book of ancient Chinese poetry, the *Songs of the South* (*Chu Tz'u* 楚詞), was written in the fourth and third centuries B.C. and sprang from a significantly different tradition. Its writers certainly knew of the joys of wine and probably its occasional drawbacks, even if they never spoke of these in as forthright a way as the author of *Odes* No. 220 (*Pin chih chu yen* 賓之初筵):

"When the guests first take their seats,
How decorous they are, how reverent!
While they are still sober
Their manner is dignified and correct;
But when they are drunk
Their manner is utterly changed.
They leave their seats and roam,
Cut capers, throw themselves about.
While they are still sober
Their manner is dignified and grave;
But when they are drunk
They do not know what misdemeanours
they commit."

The poem describes the pomp and ceremony of a grand banquet and the subsequent degeneration of some of the guests into drunken prattlers. It provides an interesting insight into the attitudes of the Chou dynasty Chinese towards wine, with:

"Drinking wine is very lucky,
Provided it is done with decency."

and:

"That drunk man is not behaving
nicely;
He is making the sober feel
uncomfortable."

This is not a piece of self-righteous moralizing but a realistic appraisal of the way in which one person's excess can spoil another's pleasure by transgressing the bounds of mutual tolerance.

Wine is mentioned as an aspect of daily experience in a number of other poems; in its sacrificial or ritual use, referring to good living and the joy of feasting, simply as something to be appreciated, or even as an insult to a conquered people, in *Odes* No. 255 (*Tang tang shang ti* 蕩蕩上帝);

"King Wen said: Come!

Come, you Yin and Shang!
Heaven did not flush you with wine.
Not good are the ways you follow;"

In the *Songs of the South*, wine appears as both sacrificial and a source of pleasure. In the *Summons of the Soul* (*Chao hun* 招魂) wine is invoked to lure the spirit back from the dead with promises of:

"Jade like wine, honey-flavored, fills
the winged cups;
Ice-cooled liquor, strained of impurities,
clear wine, cool and refreshing;
Here are laid out patterned ladles, and
here is sparkling wine.
O soul, come back! Here you shall
have respect and nothing shall
harm you."

and in the description of revelry that follows wine is the catalyst for the interplay between guests and singing-girls:

"The lovely girls are drunk with wine,
their faces are flushed.
With amorous glances and flirting looks,
their eyes like wavelets sparkle:
In wine they attain the heights of
pleasure and give delight to the
dear departed."

There is a hint of the drawbacks of drunkenness in *The Fisherman* (*Yu fu* 漁夫):

"... and because all men are drunk
and I alone am sober, I have been sent
into exile."

and perhaps a precursor of the "great escapists" into the land of the bottle of later ages in the lament that ends:

"Sombrely the sun in the west was
declining:
The road stretched far ahead, full of
difficulties

I thought with a stoup of wine to solace
by care,
But my throbbing anxieties would not
leave me."

So while these two collections are from a culture as ancient and remote from our own as any, if a culture is reflected in its literature, then they contain enough references to wine and its joys to provide at least some idea of the place it occupied in the everyday experience of the Chou Chinese.

There seems little point in looking for an historical development of the wine itself in poetry as a poet writes what he feels, and presumably if a poet feels drunk, it makes no difference if he is drunk on Shang dynasty millet wine or the finest Shaohsing from today's factories. What changes throughout history is attitudes to alcohol and ways of expressing them.

2. Wine Poetry in the Han dynasty and the period of disunion that followed

The Han dynasty (206 B.C. — A.D. 220) did not leave us a wealth of poems on wine, but that is not to say that wine did not have its adherents. Yang Hsiung (楊雄 53 B.C. — A.D. 18), the scholar and poet, wrote a poem for the emperor Cheng (成帝 reigned 32-7 B.C.) of the Former Han. Titled *An Admonition against Wine* (*Chiu chen* 酒箴), it has not been preserved in its entirety. The surviving piece is in an unusual style, written in what Burton Watson calls the "debate form." The part of the argument that survives compares the teetotaler to a clay pitcher — brittle and easily broken, while the drinker is equated with a leather wineskin, altogether more flexible and amicable. Since it is an

admonition, presumably the rest of the poem gives the opposite view of wine (unless the only warning was against not drinking enough). Chen Chun (陳遵 flourished c. 6 B.C), in whose biography it appears, is recorded as an uninhibited drinker and perhaps this part of the poem appears as an exposition of his views on the subject.

Kung Jung (孔融 153-208) felt similarly moved to defend wine, against the prohibition of the ruler of the Kingdom of Wei, Chao Chao (曹操 155-220). He lists the illustrious figures of history who were noted for their love of a good drink, men such as Yu Ting-kuo (于定國), the famous judge who flourished around 60 B.C:

"If Ting-kuo wasn't merry with a
barrel of wine,
He wasn't fit to dispense the law."

He ends his poem with a comparison that aptly demonstrates the absurdity of prohibition:

"Chieh and Chou destroyed their
kingdoms with lust,
But you do not seek to prohibit
marriage!"

This poem seems to be written in the face of censorial attitudes to drinking and, therefore, is a poem of protest as much as anything. It does not contain the explicit celebration of wine's pleasures found in the works of some later poets.

With the collapse of the Han dynasty, China was plunged into an era of turmoil and uncertainty. This was reflected in the philosophy, poetry and, it seems, the drinking habits of the time.

As centralized government gave way to a system of family-ruled states, the complex state philosophy that Con-

fucianism had become fell into decline. In its place, metaphysical thought rose in importance as did the escapist religions of Taoism and later, Buddhism. Perhaps this urge to escape the tribulations of the world accounts for the heavy drinking enjoyed by so many of the poets of the period. Some of the great names in Chinese poetry would be found in a catalogue of the drinkers of the post-Han turmoil.

First among these must surely be Tao Yuan-ming (陶淵明 365-427), one of the most famous and respected poets China has ever produced. He was well known as a man who turned his back on public life and lived a recluse's life of contemplation. Much of his poetry is influenced by this, and he frequently uses wine-drinking as an image of this escape to rustic tranquility. For him, wine gives the same opportunity for release from life's trials as his bucolic retreat gives for release from the impositions of public office:

"An old fellow gave me a gift of some
wine,
And said 'Drink for immortality's sake'.
I try a swig and my senses grow distant,
One more and even heaven is for-
gotten."

from *Drinking Alone in the Rainy Season*
(連雨獨飲).

As one would expect of a man so enamoured with the idea of escape, Tao rejected the search for immortality. The Taoist alchemists who pursued it considered the drinking of wine to be harmful, and in this poem Tao refutes this with his own assertion of the transcendental properties of wine.

It is very important to draw a distinction between Tao's view of drunkenness, as the attainment of a

higher plane of perception, and the view that it is just a way of achieving oblivion, of running away. In the fourteenth of his twenty poems *On Drinking Wine* (飲酒二十首), he ends with a description of the profundities of his drunkenness which surely strikes a chord of recognition with anyone who has experienced moments of sudden insight when drunk;

"When I am not aware of my own
existence,
How should I know what things are
valuable?
Remote, I have strayed from the place
where we are,
In wine there are deep flavors."

There was, however, more to Tao's love of wine than its philosophical justification. He loved it for the sheer pleasure it gave, but also for its sociability. There is a difference in tone between his poems of solitary drinking, where he is contemplative and sometimes melancholy, and his poems of drinking in company, where he takes delight in wine drinking as a social medium. Compare:

Quietly I stay in the eastern room;
The spring wine I, solitary, take.
My good friend is far away;
I scratch my head and hesitate."

from *Hanging Clouds* (停雲)

with

"In our talk and accord there are no
common modes;
What we discuss are the books of the
sages.
Sometimes we have several gallons of
wine,
Which drinking at leisure, we enjoy
ourselves."

from *In Reply to Aide Pang* (答龐參軍)

In both poems, wine is something to be drunk at leisure; alone, wine is an aid to thought and self-examination; in company, wine is an aid to social intercourse. Tao goes further in the poem also titled *In Reply to Aide Pang* where there are the antithetical lines in verses III and IV:

"I have a good wine;
With you I enjoyed it."

from verse III

and then:

"I escorted you on your way;
We took cups of wine but there was
no joy."

from verse IV

These lines show the ambivalence of wine that Tao recognized; when he is in good company, it brings heightened pleasure — but when he is unhappy, as he is at the departure of a friend, it can be a joyless experience.

Tao was aware of the pitfalls of making too much of wine. In his overtly metaphysical poem *Body, Shade and Soul* (*Hsing Ying Shen* 形影神), he speaks of wine in a way that suggests he viewed it as a method, a tool, the limitations of which he was fully aware:

"Establish good and some affection will
remain;
Why do you not exert yourself?
Wine they say can dispel grief,
But it is surely inferior to this."

from verse II

and more explicitly:

"Old and young alike come to one
death;
Between wise and foolish there is no
distinction.
In daily drunkenness one may be able

to forget,
But is it not a means of shortening
life?"

from verse III

However, the enduring impression from reading Tao's poetry is of a man who loved wine for the sheer pleasure and good humor it evoked. He mentions it repeatedly, in different contexts, but always as an accepted part of his daily experience. It seems tempting to look at Tao's drinking in terms of extremes — either he was a complete drunkard, or else wine is a constant metaphor for his withdrawal from public life and he didn't really drink much at all. As Tao himself says when describing two visitors, one a drunkard and one teetotal:

"Drunk and sober laughed at one
another;
Of the words they spoke neither under-
stood the other's.
Narrow mindedness, oh how stupid!"

from *Drinking Wine*, XIII

He certainly enjoyed getting drunk and there seems little to reprehend in that particularly as he drank with such a measured attitude. However, it seems very unlikely that a complete sot could have produced such original and influential poetry. He did write a poem *Stopping Wine* (*Chi Chih* 止酒), which is a humorous account of his own tendency to drunkenness, and succeeded in using the word "stop" (*Chih* 止) in every line; whether he was equally successful in stopping, we cannot tell. From what he says in the poem *In Imitation of Burial Songs* (*Ni wan ko tz'u san shou* 擬挽歌辭三首), we can perhaps presume not:

"I only regret that when I was alive,
In drinking wine I did not get enough."

Tao Yuan-ming, great literary figure though he may be, was certainly not the only drunken poet to flourish during the post-Han disorder. In fact, a group of eccentric intellectuals known as *The Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove* (*Chulin Chi-hsien* 竹林七賢) preceded him by a century and a half. They flourished around the third century A.D. and among their number were some of the great poets and philosophers of the day.

Perhaps the most famous poet among them was Liu Ling (劉伶 221-300) and he left a testament to his love of wine in his poem *In Praise of Wine* (*chiu-te sung* 酒德頌). In it he compares himself to a Taoist immortal, with a reputation for bibulousness, who is faced with the censure of a Confucian moralist. His response is to drink himself drunk, to a state where he is oblivious to the world and its querulousness:

"He made yeast his pillow and lees
his cushion;
He was quite without cares, jovial and
merry."

As the poem continues, he becomes impervious to the externalities of existence and the final lines describe his surveying all creatures and all men from a position of tranquil vantage.

More than any other, this poem illustrates the Taoist influenced attitude to wine that prevailed among the poets of the Six Dynasties period. Its format specifically reflects the conflict of this attitude with Han dynasty Confucianism and the proliferation of moral dogma it encompassed.

3. Wine Poetry of the Tang and Sung Dynasties

After the poets of the Six Dynasties made drunkenness such a feature of the poetic experience, the poets of the Tang developed this feature and to a certain extent stylized it. It was almost universally accepted that wine was an aid to inspiration and composition, indeed men of letters were expected to be able to "sink a few cups". Consequently there was more reference to wine in poetry both metaphorically and sometimes, it seems, in response to the expectations of convention.

One poet who could never be accused of bowing to convention was Li Po (李白 701-762), China's most famous poet and most renowned drinker. Like Tao Yuan-ming, Li Po used wine as a poetic metaphor, yet also wrote poems in which wine is simply a source of pleasure.

In some of his poems, wine has a clearly mystical quality. *Drinking Alone Beneath the Moon* (Yue hsia tu chuo 月下獨酌), one of his best known poems, is ostensibly about getting drunk on a moonlit night, singing and tottering in traditional drunken style. However, even a cursory reading of the poem clearly shows there is much more to it than that. The effect of wine is central to the poem but is the vehicle for intimations of higher things. The poet describes his dislocation from his shadow — a result of drinking, but also a metaphor for the transcendent. Wine allows the soul to divide into its corporeal and ethereal parts and to roam free of the mutual hindrance, something that cannot happen in sobriety:

"When I am sober, we get on well

enough,

But when I am drunk, we go our separate ways."

There are also hints of the "watcher of the skies" imagery of Liu Ling's poem, and Li Po seems to be closer to, if not at one with, the moon, through his drinking. His drunkenness amounts to a spirit journey, a journey of self-realization.

This supersubstantiality is an extension of the more common poetic image of wine as escape, as peaceful oblivion.

Bring on the Wine (Chiang-chiu 將進酒), while a poem about many things, certainly concentrates more on what is being escaped from than what is being escaped to;

"Bells and drums and costly dishes
have no worth to me,
All I ask is to be ever in wine and never
to be sober."

Nevertheless, the profundity of these poems in no way diminishes Li Po's stature as a great drinker. He wrote many poems just to celebrate wine, its makers and its drinkers, and these were often sharp and witty.

A Lament for Old Chi, Master Brewer of Hsuan-cheng (Ku Hsuan-cheng shan-niang Chi-sou 哭宣城善釀記叟) is addressed to a deceased brewer whom Li obviously once admired. He asks him if he is still brewing "Old Springtime," his best wine, in the underworld, and to whom he sells it in the absence of Li himself.

Equally well known is this cautionary poem about a mischievous wine called *Lan-ling Wine* (Lan-ling chiu 蘭陵酒):

"Fine Lan-ling wine has a turmeric

bouquet,
And the jade bowl it fills has an amber
glow;
But with it a host can get his guest
so drunk,
He won't even recognize his own front
door!"

It is a good example of Li Po's genuine sense of the fun of drinking.

Li Po belonged to the group of inebriate artists who were the subject of Tu Fu's poem *The Eight Immortals of the Wine Cup* (*Yin-chung pu-hsien ko* 飲中八仙歌). All were renowned and admired both for their art and their capacity for wine, and the poem contains one of the most famous comments on Li Po and his drinking:

"For every gallon of wine, Li Po writes
a hundred poems,"

This poem by Tu Fu (杜甫 712-770) has no trace of deprecation and this is just as well, as he was himself a heavy drinker and familiar with all the "immortals."

Tu Fu's poems do not reflect an attitude to wine quite as abandoned as Li Po's, and wine is often an adjunct to, rather than a cause of, profound poetic thought. Tu Fu had to give up drinking in later life in an attempt to ease the pain of illness, and in the last lines of the famous *From a Height* (*Teng kao* 登高), this abstemiousness becomes a paradigm for the regrets of old age:

"Life's failures and regrets frosting my
temples,
And wretched that I've had to give up
drinking."

Li Po and Tu Fu are unquestionably the most famous and arguably the best of Tang poets; yet examples of wine

occur in the works of many of the poets of the period, among them Pai Chu-yi (白居易 772-846), Li Ho (李賀 791-817) and Liu Chung-yuan (柳宗元 773-819).

Wine poems became something approaching a genre, though few were about wine and nothing else. This "Chüeh-chü" (絕句), *Song of Liang-chou* (*Liang-chou tz'u* 涼州詞) by Wang Han (王翰 flourished c. 713) illustrates in a way I find especially satisfying the part played by wine-drinking in the emotional make-up of the poem. It is a clear example of wine as an escape, and wine as a springboard to higher poetic feelings:

"Fine grape wine in a lucent cup,
You long to drink it but the mounted
pipa drives you on.
Don't laugh at me, dead drunk on the
sand;
Of those who go to war, how many
come back?"

During the Sung dynasty (960-1279), many of the poetic techniques developed during the Tang became crystallized into literary conventions. Poetry became more formal and less innovative, although the Sung dynasty was an age when *tz'u* (詞) poetry became a popular form.

If Li Po was the giant among drinking poets during the Tang, then Su Shih (蘇軾 1036-1101) was his counterpart in the Sung. He wrote a number of poems specifically about wine in the *fu* (賦), *shih* (詩) and *tz'u* forms.

The *fu* poems are works of considerable imagination and titles such as *The Pine-paste Wine of Chung-shan* (*Chung-shan sung-lao fu* 中山松醪賦) and *Springtime of Tung-ting* (*Tung-ting chun-she fu* 洞庭春色賦) are the themes that lead to variations. The poet

compares the discovery of the Tung-ting wine with Confucius obtaining the unicorn — both were moments of equal greatness. What follows this is an almost surrealist stream of consciousness, full of allusions, describing the effects of the wine. The poem changes direction constantly, ultimately arriving at the poet's awakening from a drunken dream. It seems to have been written to give the impression that the poet was drunk when he wrote it — perhaps he actually was.

Su seems to have been fond of writing hymns to various types of wine, including cinnamon wine (Kwei-chiu 桂酒) and what he calls *A Real Wine* (*Chen yi chiu* 眞一酒). This penchant was shared by other Sung poets; for example, Cheng Chi (曾幾 1084-1166) wrote a shih poem on *Fine Home-brewed Red Wine* (*Chia-niang hung-mai chiu* 家釀紅美酒), and Mei Yao-chen (梅堯臣 1002-1060) wrote one on *Wine of the Last Month of the Year* (*La-chiu* 臘酒).

Someone who mentions wine in a far less explicit but no less heartfelt way is the poetess Li Ching-chao (李清照 1089-1151). She is indubitably very fond of wine, but does not indulge in the belly-slapping style of many of her male contemporaries when writing about it. Her poetry is often melancholy and personal, and perhaps this is the cause of her more reserved, private attitude to wine. Of course, it is possible that a certain decorum in wine was essential for women, but optional for men. This poem, written to the tune *The Silk-washing Brook* (*Huan-hsi sha* 浣溪紗), illustrates her sadness from which even wine cannot provide an escape:

"I cannot have too much thick amber
wine,
Or I'll become drunk senseless.

The evening breeze already blows;
Incense encroaches on my dream and
cuts it short.
I take the hairpins of chill gold from my
hair —
When I wake up, it's just me, face to
face with a candle."

Wine was even a feature of some political poems during the later stages of the dynasty and Sin Ch'i-chi (辛棄疾 1140-1207) wrote a poem about being drunk and questioning the value of studying the classics:

"Now I'm drunk I long for pleasure,
Where's the time for melancholy?
I'm just learning from the classics,
Faith in all they teach is folly."

It was an allegory on the incompetence of the government and his own refusal to be part of it.

The Tang and Sung were the Golden Age of Chinese poetry and wine was an inseparable feature of that poetry. Tao Yuan-ming had paved the way and the Tang poets took their cue with gusto.

The Mongol invasion, however, broke this mould and changed the face of Chinese literature.

4. Wine Poetry from the Yuan Dynasty to the Present Day

In 1280 the Mongols completed their conquest of China and founded the Yuan dynasty. Before the Mongol influence filtered through, to give rise to the dramas of the Yuan, the poetic genre known as "*San-chü*" (散曲) came into its own. This was a poetic form derived from popular poetry and balladry during the Chin (金) dynasty (1115-1234) and later to become the basis of the musical dramas of the Yuan.

The Mongols were generally heavy

drinkers, so there was certainly no restriction placed on the drinking habits of the literati by the new rulers. *San-ch'ü* was a lively, natural style of poetry so it took to the subject of wine and its joys very well. Liu Ping-chung (劉秉忠 1216-1274) wrote this poem to the tune *Dry Lotus Leaves* (*Kan ho-yeh* 乾荷葉):

"Last night, drunk and flushed,
Although I don't remember it, I passed
the flowers.
When I came to, it was past the second
watch.
My spring shirt caught the rambling
rose,
I tripped and the flowers tore it."

This is a poem frank and open about the effects of very heavy drinking — loss of memory and balance, but also containing a hint that the poet may have indulged in something other than alcohol, with the suggestive "spring shirt" ("spring" was a word with naughty, romantic overtones), and the personification of the rose as it tears his shirt.

Another poem that connects drinking and romance is Hsu Tsai-shih's (徐再思) *Hangover* (*Ping-chiu* 病酒), written towards the end of the Yuan or during the early years of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644).

It has a similarly candid approach, and the poet describes a hangover so bad that he cannot even face sexual dalliance. It is written to the tune *One Half* (*Yi ban-erh* 一半兒):

"Last night I hit the bottle, and now
I'm too out of it to support my
own head.
If I see flowers today, I'll just sleeve
my hands.
Suffering from wine and troubled by
flowers — if people ask after me,

I'm just embarrassed.

The root of this disorder lies half in
the flowers and half in the bottle!"

The *ch'ü* form was used extensively in the drama of the Yuan period, and perhaps this dramatic influence is what led to the more open, less metaphysical approach to wine in poetry, as the subjects of a poem had to be made understandable to an audience as well as a reader.

The Ming dynasty, which saw the rise of colloquial fiction, is not as renowned for its poetry as, for example, the Six Dynasties period. Nevertheless, the tradition of wine-poetry continued and the Ming produced some interesting works.

These seem to be chiefly simple eulogies to wine and its effects. An amusing example is Li Kuan's (李冠 dates unknown) *Seven Bowl Wine Song* (*Tsi wan chiu ko* 七碗酒歌) which is an analysis of the effects of successive bowls of wine. It progresses from the first bowl, that is like:

"... withered grass receiving sweet dew
..."

to the seventh, when:

"The jade mountain is overturned, and
you lay
On the pillow of rosy clouds and a
mat of tobacco plants..."

It is a witty and original poem but lacks the profundity of the earlier poets.

Hangovers did not change, whatever the ruling dynasty or prevailing literary style, and Chang Chieh (張傑 flourished 1436-1446) wrote a *shih* poem on the subject. Lying on the pillow in the morning chill, he has to call a servant

girl to raise his head. Surprisingly, he can remember all that happened the night before, especially returning to his home bathed in moonlight.

The epicurean literati of the Ching dynasty (1644-1911) viewed wine just like any other pleasure, as something to be enjoyed to the full, although their thoughts are recorded more in prose than in poetry. It is a perfect illustration of the decline of wine-poetry, and brings this essay full circle, that Chu Ta-nan, (朱大枬) writing in 1923, wrote the poem *Fuelling* (Chia-mei 加煤) by drawing on the influence of the founding father of wine-poetry, Tao Yuan-ming:

"You'll laugh at the goddess who
prepares a stone to mend heaven
As sillier than the bird trying to fill
the ocean with pebbles.
Look, we only pour down cups of
cold wine,
And it evens out the unequal destinies.
Let the stagnant come to life and
Let feeling take your thought on a
wild flight;
When you drink with gusto, emptying
the pot,
Black coal is added in the locomotive."

The poem has modern images of the technological and industrial age, but wine still fulfils the same role as it did in Tao's time — the role of an escape from life's torments.

The Ancient Chinese Art of Strategy (Part 2)

C. Y. Hsu
(徐兆鏞)

For centuries Chinese have talked about the Thirty-six Strategies. These strategies were contained in a secret handwritten book *A Secret Version of the Art of War* 秘查兵法 by an anonymous author. Who he was and when he lived are never known. The book was handed down generation after generation in handwritten copies and so its circulation was not wide. Only in recent years has it been printed.³ It is mainly a book on the art of war but the strategies it talks about may often be employed in the political, economic, psychological and other fields.

I may outline the Thirty-six Strategies as follows:

Strategy 1: 瞞天過海 Crossing the Ocean under Camouflage

解說：備周則意怠，常見則不疑。陰在陽之內，不在陽之對。太陽，太陰。

Explication: Full preparedness brings complaisance and a frequent sight allays suspicion. Enclose secrecy in openness; it is not to be exposed. Openness and secrecy go hand in hand.

This is the strategy of camouflage. Within an open strategy is often a

secret one; in other words a secret strategy is often slickly carried out in an open one. Openness and secrecy should be jointly employed. The key lies in creating a false image to cover up the true image. In so doing, lull the opponent into complaisance and achieve your purpose with dexterity. Move forward under camouflage and strike with a lightning blow.

Strategy 2: 圍魏救趙 Besiege Wei to Rescue Chao

解說：共敵不如分敵；敵陽不如敵陰。

Explication: Better split up the enemy to fight them than face them as a whole; better fight the enemy secretly than openly.

When the enemy forces are in concentration, try to split them up and attack them in separate groups. If you launch an attack secretly, the enemy forces are caught off guard. In a surprise attack you are pretty sure to win.

The title of this strategy is about a war involving the Wei, Chao and Ch'i States. In A.D. 352 Wei sent its crack troops under the command of General P'ang Ch'uan 龐涓 to attack Chao. Chao

asked Ch'i for help to resist Wei. Ch'i sent a force under the command of General T'ien Chi 田忌 to Hantan 邯鄲, capital of Chao, to its rescue. But Sun Pin 孫臏, a military strategist, who was sent as Military Counselor with the Ch'i force, advised General T'ien Chi, saying, "General, you have been ordered to rescue Chao whose capital Hantan is being besieged by Wei's crack invasion force. It is poor strategy to rush your troops to Hantan and engage Wei's main force there. I would suggest a better strategy. With its main force gone, the defense of Wei's capital Ta Liang 大梁 must be weak. If you lead your troops on a march to Ta Liang and attack it, the Prince of Wei will be alarmed and will recall General P'ang Ch'uan's force to defend Ta Liang and the siege of Hantan will be lifted."

General T'ien Chi followed the strategy he suggested. As soon as the Prince of Wei got wind of the Ch'i troops' march toward Ta Liang he ordered P'ang Ch'uan to rush back to defend the capital as Sun Pin had predicted. Sun Pin reckoned that P'ang Ch'uan rushing back to Ta Liang with his troops, would pass through Ma-ling-tao 馬陵道, a narrow vale between two mountains, at night. He led a contingent of troops to lie in ambush there. When General P'ang Ch'uan arrived with his troops, he suffered heavy casualties in the ambush. To avoid being captured alive, he committed suicide by slashing his own throat.

Strategy 3: 借刀殺人 To Kill with a Borrowed Sword

解說：敵已明，友未定，引友殺敵，不自出力，以“損”推演。

Explication: The enemy forces are

clearly in view but your allied forces are undecided. Induce them to fight the enemy rather than take action yourself. Proceed according to the Diagram of *Sun 損* (Decrease).

The text of this Diagram says that the ruler above is benefited by the decrease (tithe or service) of his subjects below. In this case the presiding state is benefited by the decrease (war effort) of its allied states. If the war efforts are offered with sincerity, success may ensue. But it is the duty of the one above to weigh in his mind how much he may require without injuring the one or ones below.

This is the strategy to make use of others to fight the enemy, thereby preserving one's own strength.

Tzū Kung 子貢, one of Confucius' favorite disciples, an astute politician and a brilliant and eloquent speaker, once used effectively this strategy of "killing with a borrowed sword," sowing dissension among four feudal states — Ch'i, Wu, Yüeh and Chin — in achieving his purpose of safeguarding Lu. The story begins with the powerful T'ien 田 family in the Ch'i State, which had for generations wielded great power and harbored the intention of overthrowing the reigning House. When T'ien Ch'ang 田常 was Minister of State, he was particularly desirous of usurping the throne but he feared the opposition of several generals commanding the army. To boost his own popularity and dominance he suggested to Duke Chien 齊簡公 (reigned 484-481 B.C.) of Ch'i, to invade the Lu State and ordered Kuo Shu 國書 and Kao Wu-p'ing 高無平 as commander and deputy commander to lead an expedition.

Confucius, a native of Lu, was alarmed that Ch'i troops were massed

on the Min River 汶河, poised for an attack on Lu. He asked his disciples, saying: "Ch'i is going to invade our Fatherland Lu where our ancestral tombs are located. Who would go to Ch'i and talk it out of the invasion?" Tzŭ Lu 子路 volunteered to go but Confucius, knowing him to be impetuous, would not let him go. Then Tzŭ Chang 子張 and Tzŭ Shih 子石 volunteered but Confucius would not send them either as he thought they were both too honest and not eloquent enough. But when Tzŭ Kung volunteered, he assented without hesitation and told him to set out at once.

Tzŭ Kung went to Ch'i to see T'ien Ch'ang. When he was brought to the Minister's presence, T'ien Ch'ang said curtly, "So you have come a long way for Lu's sake."

"No, not for Lu's but Ch'i's sake," Tzŭ Kung replied.

T'ien Ch'ang was surprised at his answer and asked, "What do you mean?"

Tzŭ Kung said, "Lu is not easy to invade because it is a small state and is not well-fortified, its ruler is rather ignorant and its officials incapable, its soldiers hate war and its people are unpatriotic. Ch'i had better invade Wu because it has a vast territory, its cities have high walls, it has wise and capable officials, generals well-versed in the art of war and soldiers brave and well-trained in fighting. Wu is easier to invade. . ."

"Nonsense!" T'ien Ch'ang retorted. "You make what is easy sound difficult and what is difficult sound easy."

Tzŭ Kung whispered to him that he would like to talk with him in private. After T'ien Ch'ang had dismissed his retinue, Tzŭ Kung said, "My Lord, have you heard the saying: 'When there are inhibitions abroad, attack the weak but when there are inhibitions at home,

attack the strong.' Now Your Lordship has enemies at home. If Ch'i attacks weak Lu, it will vanquish it. But after the victory, your enemies at home, the Prince and the generals, will become stronger and more powerful. You won't be able to fulfill your ambition in Ch'i. But if Your Lordship makes Ch'i invade Wu, a much stronger state, and if Ch'i is repulsed with heavy casualties, the Prince and generals of Ch'i will lose power and confidence and you will have a better chance to fulfill your ambition at home."

T'ien Ch'ang was swayed by Tzŭ Kung's argument but he said, "But Ch'i's invasion force is poised on the Min River. How could I order it to turn to the invasion of Wu?"

"That's no problem," Tzŭ Kung said. "My Lord, please order your invasion force to stay put on the Min River. I'll go to Wu to persuade Prince Fu Ch'ai 夫差 to invade Ch'i in rescue of Lu. By then Your Lordship can order your troops to turn back to defend Ch'i against Wu."

T'ien Ch'ang was pleased with Tzŭ Kung's strategy and urged him to set out at once for Wu.

When Tzŭ Kung saw Prince Fu Ch'ai he said, "In retaliation for the last joint invasion by Wu and Lu, Ch'i has sent an invasion force to Lu. It is now poised on the Min River, ready to attack at any moment. Ch'i's plan is to vanquish Lu first and then invade Wu with the compulsory support of Lu's manpower and resources."

Prince Fu Ch'ai said, "Sir, since you have come to inform us, we suppose you have thought of a strategy to cope with this crisis."

"Yes, Your Highness," Tzŭ Kung replied. "Before Ch'i attacks Lu, Wu should rush to Lu's rescue. I am sure

that Wu and Lu together can defeat Ch'i in a pincer movement. With Ch'i and Lu under its domination, Wu can then contest with Chin for supremacy in the Central Plain."

"You do have a good strategy for us," Prince Fu Ch'ai said, "But we are worried at the moment over our neighboring State Yüeh's current sinister design. We defeated it in the last war. We have heard that Prince Kou Chien 勾踐 is daily training his troops and making war preparations. He appears to be bent on revenge against us. We must vanquish Yüeh first before we can make any move against Ch'i."

Tzū Kung said, "By the time Your Highness has vanquished Yüeh it will be too late to move against Ch'i for Ch'i will have vanquished Lu. If Your Highness vanquishes Yüeh first, your gain will be small, but you will allow time for Ch'i, a bigger and stronger state, than Yüeh to vanquish Lu and grow even stronger. This is poor strategy. Since Your Highness worries about Yüeh's revenge, I will go to see Prince Kou Chien and urge him to lead his troops to support Wu's campaign against Ch'i."

Prince Fu Ch'ai was pleased with Tzū Kung's strategy and told him to go to Yüeh without delay.

When Tzū Kung arrived in Yüeh and saw Prince Kou Chien, he said to him, "I have seen Prince Fu Ch'ai to urge him to attack Ch'i in rescue of Lu. He said he is worried over Your Highness's intention of vengeance and will vanquish Yüeh first before he moves against Ch'i."

Prince Kou Chien was alarmed and asked Tzū Kung if he could suggest any plan to forestall Wu's attack.

"Yes, I do," Tzū Kung said. "Prince Fu Ch'ai is arrogant and greedy. If Your Highness sends him valuable gifts, be

subservient to him and offer to lead your army to support his campaign against Ch'i, Your Highness will allay his suspicion of vengeance and will forestall his plan to vanquish Yüeh first. If he is repulsed by Ch'i, he will be weakened and his weakness will be to Your Highness's advantage. If he wins over Ch'i, he will be busy contesting with Chin for supremacy in the Central Plain. Your Highness may seize an opportune time to attack him in the rear and wreak vengeance on him."

Prince Kou Chien was pleased with Tzū Kung's strategy and bestowed upon him gold and silver ingots, a precious sword and a fine horse but Tzū Kung would not accept them.

He returned to Wu and reported to Prince Fu Ch'ai that Prince Kou Chien pledged his never-failing allegiance to him and would himself lead three thousand Yüeh troops to support his campaign against Ch'i.

Prince Fu Ch'ai was overjoyed at hearing this and asked Tzū Kung whether he should accept Prince Kou Chien's offer to lead himself three thousand men to join the campaign against Ch'i. Tzū Kung said that it was all right to accept his offer of troops in the campaign but not Prince Kou Chien himself to lead the troops lest people should think that he did so under duress.

Tzū Kung was glad that he had persuaded Wu to campaign against Ch'i but he foresaw the possibility of a victorious Wu making exorbitant demands on Lu, claiming to have saved it from destruction. He thereupon went to Chin to see Duke Ting 定公 (reigned 511-475 B.C.) and said to him, "Wu is launching a campaign against Ch'i. If it wins, it will contend with Chin for supremacy in the Central Plain. Has Your Highness

made any preparations against this contingency?"

Duke Ting thanked Tzu Kung for alerting him and he began to make war preparations against Wu.

A big Wu force joined by three thousand Yüeh troops marched northward to attack Ch'i's invasion force on the Min River. When Duke Ai 魯哀公 (reigned 494-476 B.C.) of Lu heard that the Wu and Ch'i forces were locked in a fierce battle at Ailing 艾陵 (Artemia Mound), he dispatched a Lu force to join the fight against Ch'i. The Ch'i force was routed and its commander Kuo Shu was killed in action.

When Duke Chien of Ch'i heard of the defeat, he sued for peace. Prince Fu Ch'ai ordered Ch'i and Lu to make up and swear to be sister states. After the victory at Ailing, Prince Fu Ch'ai led his victorious force to attack Chin in a bid for supremacy in the Central Plain. At Tzŭ Kung's advice Duke Ting of Chin was well prepared for the attack. In a battle at Huang-chih 黃池 (Yellow Pool) the Wu force was utterly defeated. When Prince Kou Chien heard of Wu's debacle, he attacked Wu from the rear. Prince Fu Ch'ai rushed back desperately to the defense. He fought three battles with Yüeh but was repeatedly defeated. The Yüeh troops broke into his capital Ku-su 姑蘇, besieged his palace and killed him. Thus Prince Kou Chien wiped out the humiliation of his erstwhile defeat at the hands of Prince Fu Ch'ai.

Tzŭ Kung's strategic manoeuvres were so contradictory to the Confucian canon that not a few scholars questioned the authenticity of the account in the "Biography of Tzŭ Kung" in Ssŭ-ma Chien's *Historical Records*. But they found no documentary evidence to the contrary. When Confucius commented

upon the characteristics of several of his outstanding disciples, he singled out Tsai Wo 宰我 and Tzŭ Kung for their eloquence.⁴

Among all of Confucius' disciples Tzŭ Kung held the highest government positions, being successively Minister of State of Lu and Wei. He also had a successful business career, purchasing and stocking up commodities when prices were low and selling them when prices were high. He accumulated considerable wealth. In view of his eloquence, astuteness and sagacity it was likely that he would have made such strategic manoeuvres among the contending states, playing upon their conflict of interests and mutual suspicion and distrust.

Strategy 4: 以逸待勞 To Substitute Rest for Labor

解說：困敵之勢，不以戰，損剛益柔。

Explication: The way to harass the enemy is not to fight him but whittle down his strength and redeem your own weakness.

Wait for an enemy coming from a long way. When he arrives, he is tired out. Attack him immediately before he can rest up. This is also using the Diagram of *Sun* 損 (Decrease) whereby the strong is weakened while the weak builds up his strength.

Strategy 5: 趁火打劫 To Loot during a Fire

解說：敵之害大，就勢取利，剛決柔也。

Explication: While the enemy is in a crisis, attack him and win an easy victory. This is to strike down the weak with a decisive blow.

The strategy is to take advantage of

the enemy's crisis and vanquish him. The crisis may arise itself or it may be created by you. Snared in a crisis, your enemy is weakened and you can vanquish him more easily. This is in the state of the Diagram of *Kuai* 夬 (Resoluteness) whereby the strong resolutely strikes down the weak.

Strategy 6: 聲東擊西 Make a Feigned Move in the East But Attack in Force in the West

解說：敵志亂萃，不虞，坤下兌上之象。利其不自主而取之。

Explication: Get the enemy confused and unprepared. He is in the state of the Diagram *Ts'ui* 萃 (Accumulation of water like a lake on a high ground in danger of overflowing any moment). He has lost the initiative. It is an opportune time to attack him.

The strategy is to make a feigned move at one place to confuse the enemy and attack him at another place where he is unprepared.

Strategy 7: 無中生有 Make Something Out of Nothing

解說：誑也，非誑也，實其所誑也。少陰，太陰，太陽。

Explication: A fraud. Not a fraud. Substantiate a fraud. From Little *Yin* (Little Negative) to Great *Yin* (Great Negative) to Great *Yang* (Great Positive).

The strategy is to mix truth and lie, fact and fiction, reality and fraud to confuse and fool the enemy and achieve your purpose.

During the rebellion of An Lu-shan 安祿山 (died A.D. 757) in the T'ang dynasty the city of Yung-chiu 雍丘 in

Honan Province was besieged by some forty thousand rebels. The defender of the city Chang Hsün 張巡 (A.D. 709-757) had only some three thousand men. After defending the city for a period of time he ran out of arrows. He ordered his soldiers to make many straw men and in a dim night lower them with ropes down the city walls. The rebels, mistaking them for defenders of the city coming on a night attack, unleashed volley after volley of arrows at them. But when they discovered that they never moved forward they knew they were deceived. Chang Hsün had the straw men covered with arrows pulled up the city walls and got some ten thousand arrows to replenish his supply. The following night when the straw men were again lowered down the city walls, the rebels did not shoot a single arrow, indicating that they would not be deceived by the same trick again. On the third night Chang Hsün ordered his soldiers to slither down the city walls on ropes and launch a surprise attack. The rebels who thought that they were again straw men were caught off guard and were badly beaten.

Strategy 8: 暗渡陳倉 To March Stealthily to Ch'en-tsang

解說：示之以動，利其靜而有主，益動而巽。

Explication: Make an open move to fool the enemy who is staying put and thinks he controls the situation while launching an attack elsewhere. This is a subtle advance as shown in the Diagram *I* 益 (Increase).

The title alludes to the founder of the Han dynasty Liu Pang's 劉邦 (247-195 B.C.) strategic march to Ch'en-tsang, east of present-day Pao-chi 寶雞 in Shensi Province in his contest for

supremacy with Hsiang Yu 項羽 (233-202 B.C.) after the fall of the Ch'in Empire. When heroic leaders of various subjugated States rose in revolt toward the end of the Ch'in Empire the grandson of King Huai 楚懷王 (reigned 328-399 B.C.) of the Ch'u State was found among the commoners and made King Huai. He proclaimed that whoever first fought his way to Kuan-chung 關中 (now Shensi), the heart of the Ch'in Empire where the capital Hsien-yang 咸陽 (now Sian) was located, would be enfeoffed as King of Kuan-chung. It happened that Liu Pang was the first to get to Kuan-chung. But Hsiang Yü who was the strongest among the rebel leaders came at his heels. He routed Liu Pang's troops guarding the Eastern Pass that led into Kuan-chung and forced his way through. He sacked Hsien-yang, put to death Tzŭ-ying 子嬰, the last ruler of the House of Ch'in and proclaimed King Huai Emperor under the title I Ti 義帝. He proclaimed himself "Almighty King of West Ch'u"

西楚霸王. Seeing Liu Pang as his chief contender for the Empire, he would not honor the weak Emperor I Ti's word to make him King of Kuan-chung but named him King of Han instead and gave him Szechwan and a part of Shensi. He divided up Kuan-chung into three parts and put them under the control of three former Ch'in generals Chang Han 章邯, Ssŭ-ma Hsin 司馬欣 and Tung I 董翳, making them all Kings. He named a total of eighteen Kings. Suspecting that the Ch'in troops who had surrendered would mutiny, he massacred more than twenty thousand of them in a night attack south of Hsin-an 新安, present-day Shêng-chih-hsien 澠池縣 in Honan Province. Liu Pang was forced to withdraw from Kuan-chung. But Hsiang Yü's cruelty and highhanded ways soon

caused several of the Kings to rebel. Liu Pang led his troops back to Kuan-chung. When he first entered Kuan-chung, he had burned the wooden pathways over the mountains leading there to prevent others from following him. Accepting the strategy his general Han Hsin 韓信 (died 196 B.C.) suggested, he now made the open move of repairing the wooden pathways, creating the false impression that he would take the regular route into Kuan-chung but he stealthily marched with his troops to Ch'en-tsang, a strategic point north of Hsien-yang, by a round-about route. From Ch'en-tsang he launched a lightning attack on Hsien-yang and took it. He soon regained all Kuan-chung upon the surrender of the three former Ch'in generals.

Strategy 9: 隔岸觀火 Watching the Fire Across the River

解說：陽乖序亂，陰以待逆，暴戾恣睢，其勢自斃。順以動豫，豫順以動。

Explication: When the enemy forces are in dissension, wait quietly for their ruin. Snared in violence they are heading for self-destruction. This strategy accords with the Diagram Yü 豫 (Ease) which says: "Going along with the movement gets ease and going along with ease helps the movement."

This is the strategy of watching at ease a fire across the river and taking the spoils of war at the opportune time. An incident of this nature was Ts'ao Ts'ao's 曹操 easy way of spelling the doom of Yüan Hsi 袁熙 and Yüan Shang 袁尚 and of winning the allegiance of Kung-sun Kang 公孫康, Governor of Liaotung 遼東太守. In his campaign against Yüan Shao 袁紹 (died A.D. 202), the most powerful warlord toward the end of the Eastern Han dynasty 東漢 (A.D.

25-220) and his three sons Tan 譚, Hsi and Shang he defeated them. Yüan Shao and his eldest son Tan died. Hsi and Shang escaped to Liaotung where they planned to join forces with Governor Kung-sun Kang to fight against Ts'ao Ts'ao. In pursuing the refugee brothers Ts'ao Ts'ao's forces had arrived on the border of Liao-tung and were poised for an attack. But Ts'ao Ts'ao ordered them to withdraw. His aides protested why at the height of victory should they not finish off the Yüan brothers and vanquish Liaotung too. But Ts'ao Ts'ao said, smiling enigmatically, "That's why I want to withdraw." His aides were bewilderingly puzzled but had to obey his order to withdraw. On their way back a messenger from Liaotung caught up with Ts'ao Ts'ao's forces and asked to see him. When Ts'ao Ts'ao summoned him to his presence, the messenger presented to him two wooden boxes containing the severed heads of the brothers Hsi and Shang and a letter from Governor Kung-sun Kang, pledging allegiance. When he was asked how the Yüan brothers met their death, he said: "Governor Kung-sun has no love for the Yüans for Yüan Shao had cast a covetous eye on Liaotung and had he not been occupied with fighting elsewhere, he would have attacked us and gobbled up Liaotung long ago. Before the Yüan brothers came, our Governor had received secret reports that they came to urge the Governor to join forces with them against Your Lordship but after repulsing Your Lordship's forces, they would engineer a coup to overthrow our Governor and seize Liaotung. When they arrived, our Governor delayed seeing them and sent scouts to detect Your Lordship's troop movements. Should Your Lordship's forces invade

Liaotung in pursuit of the Yüan brothers, our Governor would be compelled to join forces with them to resist. His scouts returned to report that Your Lordship's forces were withdrawing. When our Governor heard the report, he called the Yüan brothers in and killed them."

Ts'ao Ts'ao's aides now realized why he had ordered a withdrawal.

Strategy 10: 笑裏藏刀 A Sword Hidden in a Smile

解說：信而安之，陰以圖之；備而後動，勿使有變。剛中柔外也。

Explication: Win the enemy's trust and put him at ease. Plot against him secretly and be well-prepared before you act. Let there be no mishap. Be affable in appearance but steely at heart.

The following story illustrates the use of this strategy. Kung-sun Yang 公孫鞅 (died 338 B.C.) who was also known as Wei Yang 衛鞅 and Shang Yang 商鞅 was a retainer in the house of Kung-shu Tso 公叔痤, Minister of State, during the reign of Prince Hui 魏惠王 (reigned 370-319 B.C.) of Wei. Kung-shu Tso was so struck by his ability that on his deathbed he recommended him to the Prince that he be appointed his successor or be killed lest his talent be employed by some other state to do harm to Wei. Prince Hui thought that he spoke in a delirium and neglected his advice. About 350 B.C. Kung-sun Yang entered into the service of Duke Hsiao 秦孝公 (reigned 361-338 B.C.) of Ch'in. He carried out civil and military reforms and drew up and enforced a code of laws, thereby making Ch'in strong and stable. Then he inspired Prince Hsiao with the ambition of Imperial rule by conquering the other states. In 340 B.C.

he led an expedition against Wei. A Wei army under the command of Kung-tzū Ang 公于卯 was sent against the invasion. It happened that Kung-tzū Ang was a close friend of his when he was in Wei. He sent a letter to Kung-tzū Ang inviting him to a feast where they would talk the matter over and settle it in peace. Kung-tzū Ang, suspecting no treachery, went with a bodyguard of three hundred men unarmed. Upon arrival at Kung-sun Yang's camp he was seized and killed. Kung-sun Yang then routed the demoralized and leaderless Wei army and forced Wei to cede a large slice of territory to Ch'in.

Strategy 11: 李代桃僵 The Plums Die for the Peaches

解說：勢必有損，損陰以益陽。

Explication: If sacrifice must be made, sacrifice the *Yin* to preserve the *Yang*.

The title of this strategy is a fable about a plum tree and a peach tree growing side by side by a well. When insects crawled forth to devour the peaches, the plums by their scent drew the predators to themselves. When the insects' hunger was satiated, the peaches were spared.

The strategy is to suffer a small loss to make a big gain or a minor defeat to win a big victory.

During the reign (265-244 B.C.) of Prince Hsiao Ch'eng 趙孝成王 of the Chao State late in the Warring States period (403-221 B.C.) General Li Mu 李牧 was commissioned to guard the northern border against the barbaric and warlike Hsiung-nu tribes who made frequent raids across the border, killing the Chao villagers, burning down their houses and plundering their cattle and

property. Chao garrison troops had fought them but had been defeated time and again. When General Li Mu arrived to take command, he forbade his soldiers to fight the Hsiung-nu. He ordered them to withdraw to their camps whenever they chanced to meet the enemy. However, he daily trained them in fighting and gave them good food, warm clothing and daily necessities. The Hsiung-nu thought he was timid and so did even his own officers and men who grew in time more and more impatient at not fighting back. When General Li Mu saw that his own troops had grown strong and were well-trained and eager to fight, he ordered that cattle be spread over a wide area to induce the Hsiung-nu to plunder while deploying his own men in strategic positions in readiness. The Hsiung-nu came in a disorderly manner. While one column of General Li Mu's troops confronted them, two columns enveloped them from right and left. The Hsiung-nu were decimated and surrendered.

Strategy 12: 順手牽羊 Lead away the Sheep When There Is a Chance

解說：微隙在所必乘，微利在所必得。少陰，少陽。

Explication: Take the Slimiest Chance and Grasp the Slightest Advantage. Take the least *Yin* to gain the least *Yang*.

This is the strategy of seizing the enemy's slightest negligence or his smallest weak point to overcome him. It was demonstrated in one of the most famous battles in Chinese history — the Battle on the Fei River 肥水之戰. Fu Chien 苻堅 (A.D. 337-384), the ambitious and powerful ruler of the Former Ch'in Kingdom 前秦, was bent on

overthrowing the Chin dynasty. In A.D. 384 with his brother Fu Jung 符融, a battle-seasoned general, he led a vast army of mostly Turkic origin, into Imperial territory and deployed his men on the bank of the Fei River. The Chin Emperor Hsiao Wu 晉孝武帝 (reigned A.D. 373-396) and his Court in Nanking, the capital, were in panic. Under the direction of Hsieh An 謝安 (A.D. 320-385), Governor of Yangchow and a great strategist, Hsieh Shih 謝石 and Hsieh Hsüan 謝玄, his brother and nephew, led an army to oppose the invader. Hsieh Shih sent a letter to Fu Chien, asking him to withdraw his troops a short distance from the brink of the Fei River so that the Chin army could cross the river and fight them. After conferring with his brother Fu Jung, Fu Chien consented to withdraw. He had decided with his brother on the strategy of ordering his troops to turn back and attack the Chin army while the latter were crossing the river. Hsieh Shih, however, instructed his men to cross the river as speedily as possible and assault the withdrawing enemy troops when they were unprepared and in disorder. Seizing this slight advantage, he turned their withdrawal into a debacle.

Strategy 13: 打草驚蛇 Beat the Grass to Scare the Snake

解說：疑以叩實，察而後動；復者，陰之媒也。

Explication: Turn fiction into reality. Observe carefully before you make a move. Repeated investigations are the key to secrecy.

The strategy is to turn the enemy's plot against himself. But you have to investigate his conditions thoroughly

before you make any move.

Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮 (A.D. 181-234), the able counselor and strategist of the Three Kingdoms period (A.D. 220-265), used this strategy to foil the Wu State's plot to hold his master Liu Pei 劉備 (A.D. 162-223) as hostage in exchange for Chingchow 荊州 which Liu Pei had occupied after the defeat of Ts'ao Ts'ao 曹操 (A.D. 155-220) at Red Cliff on the Yangtze River. Sun Chüan 孫權 (A.D. 181-252), ruler of Wu, was annoyed by his audacity and sought to retake it by force, when his military commander Chou Yü 周瑜 (A.D. 174-218) offered a plot to get it back without the use of arms. Chou Yü had heard that Liu Pei's wife Lady Kan 甘夫人 had just died and he conceived a plot whereby a proposal would be made to Liu Pei to betroth Sun Chüan's younger sister to him, induce him to come to Wu for the marriage and hold him as a hostage until Chingchow was surrendered. Sun Chüan accepted the plot and a matchmaker was sent. When Liu Pei received the matrimonial proposal, he was afraid to go to Wu lest he be detained and perhaps slain. But Chu-ko Liang advised him to go for if a matrimonial alliance was concluded, Chingchow would be secured. "I'll write down three strategies and seal them in three silk bags to be carried by Chao Yün 趙雲 (died A.D. 229) who will accompany you. He will open each bag in due time and do in accordance with my instructions and you will go through the wedding and return here safe and sound."

Liu Pei and Chao Yün went to Wu with five hundred guards, carrying a big load of wedding gifts. Upon landing on Wu soil, Chao Yün opened the first silk bag and read the instructions therein. He made a big fanfare of Liu Pei's entry

into the city with five hundred guards, all in ceremonial dress, bearing the big load of wedding gifts. After Liu Pei had put up in a guest house, he sent the guards to all parts of the city, buying wedding accessories and making it known that Liu Pei had arrived to marry Sun Chüan's sister. Then he took Liu Pei to call on Ch'iao Kuo-lao 喬國老 father-in-law of Sun Chüan's deceased elder brother Sun Tsé 孫策 (A.D. 175-200) and of Chou Yü. On seeing the old man Liu Pei presented him valuable gifts and told him of the purpose of his journey to Wu.

After Liu Pei had left, Ch'iao Kuo-lao called on the Dowager of Wu, Sun Chüan's mother, to offer felicitations on the "happy event."

"What happy event?" the Dowager asked in surprise.

"Why? Isn't your daughter going to marry Hsüan-te (Liu Pei's courtesy name)? And he has arrived and just paid a call on me. Everybody in the city is talking about the imminent happy event."

"For Heaven's sake! Everybody seems to know about it but me, her own mother."

She summoned at once her son Sun Chüan to her presence. When Sun Chüan arrived, she said angrily, "Ch'iao Kuo-lao just told me that your sister is going to marry Liu Hsüan-te and he has arrived for the wedding. It is the talk of the town. But you keep me in the dark. Why?"

"Mother, my sister is not going to marry Liu Hsüan-te. It is only Chou Yü's ruse to induce him to the city and hold him as hostage until Chingchow is surrendered to us."

"Shame on Chou Yü! What a Governor-General of eighty-one counties! He could think of no way to take over Chingchow but uses my daughter as

a decoy. Utterly disgusting and outrageous!"

Sun Chüan was brow-beaten and tongue-tied.

Ch'iao Kuo-lao interposed, "After all, Liu Hsüan-te is a scion of the Imperial House and the Emperor's uncle and he is a gallant and capable man. This is a rare match which should not be lightly passed up.

"But their ages don't match," Sun Chüan said. "Liu is over fifty whereas my sister is a blooming girl."

The Dowager said, "I have never seen this man. Invite him to the Sweet Dew Temple tomorrow to meet me. If he pleases me, I will allow my daughter to marry him. By then don't you dare to do him any harm and make my daughter a widow. But if I don't think he is a suitable match for my daughter, you can do whatever you like to him."

And so Liu Pei was invited to a feast at the Sweet Dew Temple to meet the Dowager. The Dowager was impressed with his gallant looks, noble bearing and gracious speech and decided then and there to take him as son-in-law.

The wedding took place and Liu Pei was lodged in the bridal chamber in the palace under strict security. His wife was an amazon whose boudoir was lined with weapons of war and whose maids were all armed. She took her husband under her protective wings.

When Chou Yü heard that his ruse had turned into reality, he was woefully vexed but he conceived of another scheme which was to let Liu Pei live in daily pleasure and ease so as to soften him up and stifle his ambition for power and pomp. In this way, he would be alienated from his sworn brother Kwan Yü 關羽 and Chang Fei 張飛, his counselor Chuko Liang and other followers. His present

following would in time grow despaired and disintegrate. That would be the time for Wu to strike and take over Chingchow.

Sun Chüan accepted this new plot and ordered that Liu Pei be provided with delicious food and mellow wine, gorgeous garments and gold and silver utensils and entertained day and night with music, singing and dance. He lived virtually as a prisoner of senuous luxury, surrounded by beautiful women.

Almost a year had passed. Chao Yün who was seldom allowed to see Liu Pei perceived Wu's conspiracy against his master. He thought it was time to open the second silk bag. As soon as he read the instructions he sought admittance to Liu Pei's quarters and informed him that a messenger sent by Chu-ko Liang had come to report Ts'ao Ts'ao was launching a new campaign to revenge his defeat and Chu-ko Liang urged him to return to Chingchow without further delay.

Liu Pei was alarmed and consulted Lady Sun. He told her that the marriage proposal was a ruse devised by Chou Yü to entice him to come to Wu and to hold him as hostage in exchange for Chingchow. He risked his life in coming to marry her and had enjoyed the blissful married life for almost a year. But now Ts'ao Ts'ao was launching a new campaign to avenge his defeat. He had to return to Chingchow to lead the defense, though he hated to leave her.

Lady Sun was angry that her brother Sun Chüan had consented to use her as a decoy which she thought was demeaning. She decided to run away with Liu Pei, saying that a wife should follow her husband wherever he goes.

It was New Year's Eve. Lady Sun went into the Dowager's apartment to inform her that her husband had been

thinking of his ancestors whose tombs he could not visit and she and her husband would set out on New Year's Day for the riverside and offer sacrifices toward the north. The Dowager thought it to be a filial proceeding and expressed her approval. Liu Pei and Lady Sun set out with Chao Yün and the company of guards that very night.

When Sun Chüan was informed the next morning that they had left the palace, he suspected that they were escaping to Chingchow. He immediately sent two lieutenants Ch'en Wu 陳武 and P'an Chang 潘璋 with a company of soldiers to pursue them and bring them back. But after they had left, his counselor Ch'eng P'u 程普 advised him saying, "Your sister is hot-tempered and determined and she is a warrior. All officers fear her. Ch'en Wu and P'an Chang may not dare to lay their hands on her."

Sun Chüan summoned two generals Chiang Ch'in 蔣欽 and Chou T'ai 周泰 to his presence. Drawing the sword girdled at his waist he ordered, "Take this sword and bring back the heads of my sister and Liu Pei."

When Liu Pei and his party reached Ch'ai-sang 柴桑, they found a company of soldiers bearing the standard of Chou Yü blocking their way at the foot of a hill for Chou Yü had anticipated Liu Pei's escape and had dispatched the company lying in wait. On turning their heads they saw another company of soldiers coming in pursuit. Chao Yün now opened the third silk bag wherein the instructions were to seek Lady Sun's help.

Liu Pei immediately talked to his wife and the lady lifted the curtain of her carriage and confronted Captains Hsü Sheng 徐盛 Ting Feng 丁奉 who

led the company of soldiers lying in wait and Lieutenants Ch'en Wu and P'an Chang who led the company of soldiers in pursuit. She spoke first angrily to Hsü Sheng and Ting Feng, "Have you turned traitors? How dare you block my way?"

"We are no traitors," they replied. "We have orders from General Chou Yü to camp here and wait for Liu Pei."

"Chou Yü is a meddling scoundrel," cried Lady Sun. "It is none of his business to meddle in our family affairs. You obey his orders because you fear he might cut off your heads if you don't. Don't you know that I can cut off your heads too if you disobey me."

The two officers were intimidated by her threat.

Turning to Lieutenants Ch'en Wu and P'an Chang, Lady Sun asked angrily, "What are you doing here?"

"We have orders from the Lord to ask Your Ladyship and Imperial Uncle Liu to return," they replied.

Lady Sun retorted, "I have received permission from the Dowager to go with my husband to his home. Is it wrong for a wife to visit her husband's home? Even my brother should not interfere in my trip. Are you sowing discord between us brother and sister?"

Ch'en Wu and P'an Chang had no answer.

Lady Sun told Chao Yün and his guards to proceed. The four officers and their soldiers could only step aside and let them go.

When Liu Pei and his party reached Liu-lang-p'u 劉郎浦 on the bank of the Yangtze River, they saw a company of soldiers led by Generals Chiang Ch'in and Chou T'ai sweeping up from behind like a hurricane. They were thrown into great anxiety again. But to their great

joy they found a fleet of boats sent by Chu-ko Liang anchored in wait for them. Before Generals Chiang Ch'in and Chou T'ai could catch up with them, they boarded the boats and sailed off.

Chu-ko Liang must have investigated thoroughly the conditions of Wu and obtained a lot of inside information, including the domineering character of the Dowager and the commanding and martial spirit of Lady Sun; otherwise, he would not have employed the daring strategy of sending Liu Pei into a lion's den.

Strategy 14: 借屍還魂 Resurrection in a Borrowed Corpse

解說：有用者，不可借；不可用者，求借。借不能用者而用之，匪我求童蒙，童蒙求我。

Explication: Use him who is usable with deliberation. He who is unusable would use you instead. In such a case it is as the Diagram of *Mêng* 蒙 (Youthful Folly) says: "It is not I who seek the young fool; it is the young fool who seeks me."

The strategy is to make a move under the name or influence of somebody else.

Shih Huang Ti 秦始皇 (259-210 B.C.), First Emperor of the Ch'in dynasty, exercised strict control over his subjects. To prevent rebellions he collected all weapons of war in the Empire and fused them into twelve huge bronze statues. He burned all classics and buried alive some four hundred scholars to forestall any unorthodox and revolutionary thought. A severe code of laws enacted by Li Ssü 李斯 (died 208 B.C.), the Prime Minister and a legalist, was enforced and heavy penalty was meted out for the slightest offense. The people were so cautious as not to commit any offense

that it was said that doors need not be closed at night and nobody dared to pick up any valuable incidentally dropped on the street.

In 209 B.C. a gang of some nine hundred conscripts, including two peasants Ch'en Sheng 陳勝 and Wu Kwang 吳廣, natives of Honan Province, were sent to Yü-yang 漁陽, southwest of present-day Mi-yün-hsien 密雲縣 in Hopei Province. They were prevented by flood to arrive at their destination at a specified date and were liable under the prevailing law to execution. They conspired together to incite their fellow conscripts and the local peasants to rebel but as they were unknown peasants, they thought they could not rally them readily. So they raised the banner of "Great Ch'u" 大楚 and claimed to be followers of the late great Ch'u general Hsiang Yen 項燕 who had bravely fought the Ch'in forces. In a short time they rallied tens of thousands of men. They are known in history as the first two rebels against tyrannical Ch'in.

Strategy 15: 調虎離山 To Get a Tiger out of the Mountain

解說：待天以困之，用人以誘之。往蹇來返。

Explication: Use Nature to harass the enemy; use humans to tempt him. Going forward meets with obstruction; therefore withdraw.

This is the strategy to induce the enemy to leave his stronghold and then overcome him. The last statement in the Explication is from the Diagram *Chien* 蹇 (Obstruction) which advises withdrawal in the face of insurmountable obstacles and use other means to overcome the enemy.

Toward the end of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 220) when Imperial power declined regional military leaders contended for supremacy. Liu Hsün 劉勛, Governor of Lu-chiang 廬江, controlled the region between the Yangtze River and the Huai River. Sun Tsê 孫策 (A.D. 175-200), elder brother of Sun Chüan 孫權 (A.D. 181-252), who later founded the Kingdom of Wu, was a brave and adventurous warrior. By his military exploits he carved out a vast territory south of the Yangtze River. As Liu Hsün's territory was adjacent to his, he cast a covetous eye upon it. He sent an emissary with a letter and a load of expensive gifts to see Liu Hsün at Shu-ch'êng 舒城. In his letter he said that he was impressed with Liu Hsün's ability and prowess and wished to befriend him and seek his assistance. He aired his grievance that Shang-liao 上僚, his neighboring prefecture, often sent troops to harass his region and as he had a small and ill-trained army, he could not resist its incursions. He begged Liu Hsün to send a punitive expeditionary force against Shang-liao. Liu Hsün was pleased with the flattery in the letter and the gift of pearls, silk and other valuables and decided to send his army to conquer Shang-liao. Among his officials only Liu Yeh 劉晔 advised against compliance with Sun Tsê's request, saying that Sun Tsê might harbor treachery. But Liu Hsün said that the man was over-suspicious.

So he led his army to attack Shang-liao. When Sun Tsê learned that Liu Hsün had left Shu-ch'êng, he said joyfully, "I've gotten the tiger out of the mountain. Now we can enter its den." He led his troops to close in on Shu-ch'êng by land and river, and easily took over the city.

Strategy 16: 欲擒故縱 If You Want to Capture a Person's Heart, First Set Him Free

解說：逼則反兵；走則減勢，緊隨勿迫。累其氣力，消其鬥志，散而後擒，兵不刃血。需，有孚，光亨。

Explication: If you exert too much pressure upon the enemy he will resist. Let him run and he will lose his will to fight. Follow him closely in pursuit to tire him out and dampen his fighting spirit. When he is exhausted, capture him without bloodshed. Wait. With conscientiousness you will have light and success.

The last statement is from the Diagram *Hsü* 需 (Waiting) which, however, is not mere vain hoping but with inner preparedness to reach the goal.

This strategy is to build up the enemy's false sense of security and complaisance, weaken his will to fight, stir up dissension among his staff and then overcome him without bloodshed.

Around A.D. 225 Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮 (A.D. 181-234), Minister of State of the Kingdom of Shu Han (A.D. 221-264), planned to lead an expeditionary force against the Kingdom of Wei whose ruler had usurped the throne of the Han dynasty. But he was troubled by the frequent raids staged by Mêng Huo 孟獲, chieftain of the Yi tribes, on the southern border. He decided to subjugate him first and led a campaign to the south. By his clever stratagems he captured Mêng Huo alive seven times and released him seven times. Each time when Mêng Huo was captured and brought to Chu-ko Liang's presence, he said he disdained Chu-ko Liang's wily stratagems such as trapping him in a narrow vale between two mountains and would not submit and Chu-ko Liang set him

free to let him fight again. In the seventh time when Mêng Huo was captured and brought into the camp, Chu-ko Liang refused to come out to meet him, saying that he felt ashamed to face him again and that the captive might just as well free himself. Mêng Huo now felt conscience-stricken. He begged Chu-ko Liang to come out and accept his willing surrender.

Strategy 17: 拋磚引玉 Throw a Brick to Draw out Jade.

解說：類以誘之，擊蒙也。

Explication: Use a thing of like nature as bait to draw the enemy on to the hook. This is to strike at folly.

The last statement is from the Diagram *Mêng* 蒙 (Youthful Folly) which is to score a gain over a less intelligent enemy.

The strategy is to hook a big fish with a small bait, or to make a big gain by paying a small price.

When Empress Wu 武則天 (A.D. 625-705) who usurped the T'ang throne, was reigning, the Kitans in the north rebelled and occupied Yingchow 營州. The Empress dispatched a big army under the command of Ts'ao Jen-shih 曹仁師 against them. The commander of the Kitans Sun Wan-jung 孫萬榮 had studied the art of war and had therefore acquired knowledge of strategy. He knew that the small and ill-equipped Kitan army was no match for the big and well-equipped T'ang expeditionary force. He sent many war prisoners he had captured earlier back to T'ang to volunteer the information that the Kitan army was in dire need of provisions and that the morale of the Kitans was low and many had deserted. General

Ts'ao Jen-shih was delighted with the information and he saw Kitan "deserters," wane and worn, come forth to surrender. He was confident that he could recapture Yingchow without much difficulty. But when his troops came close to Yingchow, they encountered stiff resistance in front and were ambushed and enveloped by Kitans on the sides and were devastatingly routed.

Strategy 18: 擒賊先擒王 To Capture the Bandits Capture Their Chieftain First.

解說：摧其堅，奪其魁，以解其體。龍戰於野，其道窮也。

Explication: Destroy the enemy's stronghold and seize their chieftain so as to disintegrate them. When the dragons fight in the field, the *Tao* (Way) is in eclipse.

The last statement is from the Diagram *K'un* 坤 (The Receptive) which means that the time is out of joint with good and evil in a deadly struggle.

This is the strategy to attack the enemy's strategic point to immobilize his whole organism. There is a Chinese saying: 打蛇要打頭 "If you hit a snake, hit its head." This correlates with another saying: 蛇無頭而不行 "A snake with no head can't slide."

Tu Fu 杜甫 (A.D. 712-770), the great T'ang poet, graphically describes this strategy in the following poem:

挽弓當挽強，
用箭當用長，
射人先射馬，
擒賊先擒王。

Carry a sturdy bow,
Long arrows dangling low.
To shoot a man, first shoot
His horse in your pursuit.

Capture the chieftain, then
You capture all his men.

Strategy 19: 釜底抽薪 Withdraw the Faggot underneath the Cauldron.

解說：不敵其力，而消其勢，兌下乾上之象。

Explication: If you are no match for the enemy's strength, break down his morale. This is the image of *Tui* 兌 (The Joyous) below and *Ch'ien* 乾 (The Creative) above.

The *Tui* below and *Ch'ien* above form the Diagram *Lü* 履 (Treading) in which one works with subtle and clever means to overcome a strong and wild enemy.

This is the strategy of using pliance against hardness or craftiness against force and of demoralizing the enemy by breaking up his force and depriving him of support.

Ts'ao Ts'ao 曹操 (A.D. 155-220), Prime Minister of Han, and a wily politician and strategist, employed this strategy effectively in his war with Yüan Shao 袁紹 (died A.D. 202), the most powerful warlord toward the end of the Han dynasty, who was in control of Chichow, Chingchow, Pingchow and Yuchow (冀青并幽四州). Yüan Shao led an army of one hundred thousand strong against Ts'ao Ts'ao who had only thirty thousand to forty thousand men. In addition to numerical strength, Yüan Shao was in possession of bounteous army provisions whereas Ts'ao Ts'ao had provisions to sustain his troops for at most a month. The two opposing armies were massed at Kuan-tu 官渡 in Honan Province where a great battle was looming. Ts'ao Ts'ao learned that thousands of cartloads of army provisions were on the way to the Yüan

army. He ordered two generals Hsü Huang 徐晃 and Shih Huan 史渙 to attack and set on fire the army provisions. These went up in flames. Shortly afterwards, Ts'ao Ts'ao received reports that thousands more of cartloads of army provisions of Yüan Shao arrived at Wu-ts'ao 烏巢, southwest of present-day Yen-tsin 延津 in Honan Province. He himself led five hundred cavalymen disguised as Yüan Shao's soldiers and bearing his banners in a dash over there. They set the cartloads of army provisions afire with torches. When Yüan Shao's forces heard that all their provisions had been destroyed in raids, they were demoralized. Ts'ao Ts'ao now launched his offensive and routed them.

Strategy 20: 混水摸魚 Fish in Muddled Waters

解說：乘其陰亂，利其弱而無主。隨，以向晦入宴息。

Explication: Take advantage of the enemy's internal dissension, weakness and lack of leadership. Follow him till nightfall before you get indoors for rest.

The last statement is from the Diagram *Sui* 隨 (Following) which says; "Through following you find what you look for."

To pacify the Kitans the Emperor Ming Huang 唐明皇 A.D. 685-762) of the T'ang dynasty sent his niece Princess Tung-hua 東華公主 to be married to the Kitan Khan Li Shao-ku 李邵固 (a name bestowed upon him as an Imperial favor). For many years the matrimonial alliance maintained peace on the northern border. But in A.D. 730 an unruly Kitan general K'o-t'u-khan 可突干 assassinated the Khan, put on the throne one Ch'u-lieh and

rebelled against T'ang. Emperor Ming Huang ordered Chao Han-chang 趙含章, Deputy Regional Commander of Yuchow 幽州, to suppress the rebellion. He defeated K'o-t'u-khan in a battle but K'o-t'u-khan rallied the Kitan tribes to form a formidable force and came to invade Yuchow. A T'ang force battled him at Shan-hai-kwan 山海關 but was defeated. Emperor Ming Huang was alarmed and dispatched a capable general Li Shou-kuei 李守珪 to be Regional Commander of Yuchow. On arrival at the city of Yuchow Li Shou-kuei strengthened its defense and intensified the training of his troops. K'o-t'u-khan launched several attacks on the city but was repulsed each time. He then sent an emissary to see Li Shou-kuei and pretend to convey Khan Ch'u-lieh's intention of surrender but actually to spy on the city's defenses. After seeing the emissary, Li Shou-kuei sent a capable officer Wang Hui 王悔 to accompany him back to see Khan Ch'u-lieh, K'o-t'u-khan and other Kitan tribal chieftains. Wang Hui visited them separately and talked with each privately. He found out that Khan Ch'u-lieh was powerless and under the thumb of K'o-t'u-khan and that several tribal chieftains, particularly Li Kuo-chê 李過折, were antagonistic to K'o-t'u-khan. He talked Li Kuo-chê into rebellion, assuring him that he would return to report to Li Shou-kuei and urge him to send troops to support him. After his departure Li Kuo-chê at night broke into K'o-t'u-khan's camp where he and Khan Ch'u-lieh were reveling and assassinated them. But K'o-t'u-khan's followers who resented Li Kuo-chê's arrogance and ruthlessness struck back and killed him. By the time Li Shou-kuei arrived, he found all the important Kitan leaders killed and he had an easy time

in inducing the leaderless Kitans to surrender.

Strategy 21: 金蟬脫殼 The Golden Cicada Sheds Its Shell

解說：存其形，完其勢，友不疑，敵不動。
。巽而上，蠱。

Explication: Keep the battle formation and its staunch appearance so that the allied forces won't get suspicious and the enemy troops won't make any move. When gentleness (benignancy, peace) ends, disturbance (decay) follows.

The last statement is from the text of Diagram *Ku* 蠱 (Disturbance or Decay). It is a prime principle of change that decay follows full growth, or disturbance, peace and vice versa. Thus when the secret and quiet withdrawal of the main force from the scene of contention is discovered, there will be confusion and commotion.

This strategy is to withdraw secretly for a certain reason from the scene of contention and let others bear the blunt or to escape by guile.

In 317 B.C. with Chang I 張儀 (died 310 B.C.), the wily strategist, as Minister of State Ch'in set out to break up the alliance of the Ch'i, Ch'u, Yen, Han, Chao and Wei. It first attack Wei and took its city of Ch'ü-wu 曲沃, northwest of present-day Wen-hsi 聞喜 in Shansi Province. Then it turned to attack Han and defeated it in a battle at Kuan-tsê 觀澤, present-day Chün-hsien 浚縣 in Honan Province. Prince Hsüan-hui 韓宣惠王 (reigned 325-312 B.C.) of Han was alarmed and summoned his high officials for a conference. Kung Chung-ch'ih 公仲侈 said that among the six allied states Ch'in was most antagonistic to Ch'u and had long wanted to vanquish

it. Han should cede a city to Ch'in and promise to help Ch'in attack Ch'u. Ch'in then would turn its offensive against Ch'u and Han would be saved. Prince Hsüan-hui thought this to be a strategy of "the golden cicada shedding its shell" and sent Kung Chung-ch'ih to Ch'in to make the proposal. But before he left for Ch'in, Ch'u had heard of his mission.

Prince Huai 懷王 (reigned 328-299 B.C.) summoned his counselor Ch'en Chen 陳軫 for a consultation. Ch'en Chen suggested that he should make it widely known that Ch'u as an ally of Han was dispatching troops to help it fight against Ch'in and send an emissary with cartloads of gifts to Prince Hsüan-hui to urge him to resist Ch'in with Ch'u's assistance. He said that Prince Hsüan-hui would be thankful for Ch'u's help and would probably waver in his plot to help Ch'in attack Ch'u and even if he did not waver, he would fight half-heartedly with Ch'in against Ch'u. And his wavering and half-heartedness would arouse Ch'in's suspicion of Han's true intention and Ch'in might turn against it. Prince Huai thought it also a strategy of "the golden cicada shedding its shell" and at once sent an emissary with gifts to see Prince Hsüan-hui and dispatched some troops to the Han border.

True to Ch'en Chen's expectation Prince Hsüan-hui wavered in his promise to help Ch'in attack Ch'u after he heard that Ch'u was dispatching troops to help him resist Ch'in and received the bounteous gifts from Ch'u. And when Prince Hui-wen 秦惠文王 (reigned 337-311 B.C.) of Ch'in heard Han and Ch'u were conspiring against Ch'in and saw Han delaying the dispatch of troops to help him attack Ch'u, he was indignant and ordered a renewal of the offensive against Han. Ch'u troops on the Han

border, however, did not move in to help Han resist Ch'in. The war between Han and Ch'in lasted for three years until 314 B.C. when Han sued for peace.

In history there were many cases wherein this strategy of "the golden cicada shedding its shell" was used to make good an escape from the most dangerous circumstances. In the war between Liu Pang 劉邦 (247-195 B.C.) and Hsiang Yü 項羽 (233-202 B.C.) Liu Pang was once besieged at Yangying 陽城. The defenders of the city suffered heavy casualties. They were also running short of food and no reinforcements were coming to the rescue. An army officer Chi Hsin 紀信 who looked like Liu Pang now masqueraded as him and went out of the city gate to surrender while Liu Pang himself escaped by another gate. When Hsiang Yü found out the ruse, Liu Pang was far gone.

Strategy 22: 關門捉賊 Close the Door to Catch the Thief

解說：小敵困之，剝，不利有攸往。

Explication: Besiege a small enemy party and exterminate it. If you split it up, it is not expedient to let any escape.

The last statement is from the text of Diagram *Po* 剝 (Splitting Apart) in which the enemy forces are split up. It is not expedient to let any escape.

This strategy often makes a feigned retreat to relax the enemy forces' vigilance and return to besiege and decimate them.

In the rebellion of Huang Ch'ao 黃巢 (died A.D. 884) Ch'ang-an, the T'ang capital, fell in A.D. 880. Huang Ch'ao proclaimed himself Emperor of the Ta Ch'i 大齊 dynasty. In A.D. 881 T'ang

forces launched a counter-offensive, retook Feng-hsiang 鳳翔, a strategic point outside Ch'ang-an and pushed toward the capital. Employing the strategy of "closing the door to catch the thief," Huang Ch'ao ordered his troops to make a feigned retreat to the suburbs. When the T'ang forces entered the undefended city, they killed civilians and looted and fell to revelry in celebration. But at night Huang Ch'ao's troops suddenly came back and stormed the city. The T'ang forces, caught unawares, were routed with heavy casualties and the rebels recaptured the city.

Strategy 23: 遠交近攻 Befriend Those Far Away and Attack Those Nearby

解說：形禁勢格，利以近取，害以遠隔。上火下澤。

Explication: For geographical and circumstantial reasons it is expedient to attack one nearby but not one far away. Fire burns upward but water flows downward.

The last statement is from the text of Diagram *K'uei* 睽 (Opposition). The upward and downward movements are directly opposed to each other. In such circumstances one should not go in both directions but limit one's movement in one direction.

This strategy was particularly applicable in the Warring States period (403-221 B.C.). Ch'in was confronted with six States — Yen, Han, Chao, Wei, Ch'i and Ch'u — in alliance against it. When Fan Ch'ü 范雎, a fugitive from Wei, reached Ch'in, he got an interview with Prince Chao Hsiang 昭襄王, (reigned 306-251 B.C.) criticizing his erroneous policy of attempting to conquer Ch'i which lay beyond Han and Wei. He said that Ch'in should conquer Han and Wei,

the neighboring States and befriend Ch'i and Ch'u to prevent them from assisting Han and Wei. Prince Chao Hsiang accepted his strategy and appointed him Minister of State to replace Wei Jen 魏冉 who suggested the policy of attacking the distant Ch'i. Under Fan Chü's policy Ch'in exerted pressure upon Wei and forced it to submit to it. It then invaded Han's district of Shang-tang 上黨, present-day Ch'in-yang 沁陽 in Honan Province. The prefect of Shang-tang Feng T'ing 馮亭 asked Chao for help, offering Shang-tang as reward. But before Chao troops could reach Shang-tang to help in its defense Ch'in forces had taken it in a lightning attack. When Prince Chao Hsiang heard that Chao had been persuaded to rescue Han, he was angered and turned his offensive against Chao. He sent his veteran general Po Ch'i 白起 (died 258 B.C.) to direct the offensive. In a great battle at Ch'ang-p'ing 長平 in 260 B.C. he put the Chao troops to rout, killing no less than forty thousand men. By preventing Ch'i and Ch'u from getting involved, Ch'in was able to defeat Wei, Han and Chao, thus successfully carrying out the strategy of "befriending those far away and attacking those nearby."

Strategy 24: 假道伐虢 Borrowing the Right of Way to Attack Kuo

解說：兩大之間，敵協以從，我假以勢。困，有言不信。

Explication: When a small state situated between two big states is threatened by one of them, the other should go to its rescue. Under threat it does not believe any empty word.

The last statement is from the text of Diagram *K'un* 困 (Oppression) in which one in time of adversity trusts no word

but action.

The title of this strategy refers to the big State of Chin 晉 gobbling up two small states — the States of Kuo 虢 and Yü 虞. In 658 B.C. Duke Hsien 晉獻公 (reigned 676-651 B.C.) asked his aide Hsün Hsi 荀息 if he thought he could conquer Kuo. Hsün Hsi replied that Kuo and Yü were neighboring states and were in alliance. If either one was attacked, the other would come to its rescue. He suggested to alienate them by bribing the Duke of Yü with a gift of fine jade and beautiful horses and asking him for the right of way through his territory to attack Kuo. The Duke of Yü who was greed and cowered by Chin's military might twice allowed its troops passage to Kuo. In 655 B.C. Kuo fell. On their way back Chin troops launched a sudden attack on Yü and conquered it too.

Strategy 25: 偷樑換柱 Steal the Beams and Change the Pillars

解說：頻更其陣，抽其勁旅，待其自敗，而後乘之。曳其輪也。

Explication: Make the enemy frequently change his battle formations and remove his crack units. Attack him when he shows weakness. Obstruct his wheels.

The last statement is from the text of Diagram *Wei Chi* 未濟 (Before Completion). By obstructing the wheels of the enemy's chariot, he loses maneuverability and exposes himself to attack.

This is the strategy of weakening the enemy first and of launching an attack when he shows signs of weakening.

During the reign of Duke Lieh 晉烈公 (reigned 417-393 B.C.) of Chin, Earl Chih Hsiang-tzū 智襄子 was so powerful

that he harbored the intention of usurping the throne. He demanded one hundred *li* of territory from Lord Wei Huan-tzŭ 魏恒子, Lord Han Kang-tzŭ 韓康子 and Lord Chao Hsiang-tzŭ 趙襄子. Both Lord Wei Huan-tzŭ and Lord Han K'ang-tzŭ surrendered the territory to him. But Lord Chao Hsiang-tzŭ refused to give up his. Earl Chih Hsiang-tzŭ was angry at his rebuff and launched an offensive against Lord Chao Hsiang-tzŭ, calling upon Lord Wei Huan-tzŭ and Lord Han K'ang-tzŭ to support him. Lord Chao Hsiang-tzŭ fled to Chin-yang 晉陽, southeast of present-day T'ai-yŭan in Shansi Province. Earl Chih Hsiang-tzŭ besieged the city and led the water from the Chin River to inundate it. The river water was only five or six feet below the top of the city walls and some seeped in through cracks in the walls. Lord Chao Hsiang-tzŭ conferred with his counselor Chang Mêng-t'an 張孟談 on the critical situation. Chang Mêng-t'an said, "Lord Wei Huan-tzŭ and Lord Han K'ang-tzŭ are 'beams and pillars' to Earl Chih Hsiang-tzŭ under compulsion. They know very well that once Your Lordship falls, Earl Chih Hsiang-tzŭ will turn against them and they can be made Your Lordship's 'beams and pillars.' I volunteer to go to see Lord Wei Huan-tzŭ and Lord Han K'ang-tzŭ secretly and persuade them to rebel and fight with Your Lordship against Earl Chih Hsiang-tzŭ." Lord Chao Hsiang-tzŭ thought what he said was a good strategy and told him to go at once. He saw Lord Wei Huan-tzŭ and Lord Han K'ang-tzŭ in private and persuaded them to ally with Lord Chao Hsiang-tzŭ and turn against Earl Chih Hsiang-tzŭ. They agreed on a date to make a joint attack against Earl Chih Hsiang-tzŭ. On the appointed day in the depth of night Lord Chao

Hsiang-tzŭ ordered his soldiers to break the dyke on the Chin River to inundate Earl Chih Hsiang-tzŭ's camps. Earl Chih Hsiang-tzŭ was awakened by the noise of the men and horses of the three lords in assault and the rush of the water. He was killed in the melee while many of his troops were either slain or drowned.

Strategy 26: 指桑罵槐 Pointing at the Mulberry Tree, Curse the Elm

解說：大凌小者，譬以誘之。剛中而應，行險而順。

Explication: A big state may use threats or warnings to bring a small state under control. A stern attitude will get response or support and a daring exploit will win admiration and respect.

The last statement is from the text of Diagram *Shih* 師 (The Army). The command must be strong and firm in order to get the subordination of the rank and file and their following in a daring exploit.

In the middle of the Spring and Autumn Annals period (722-481/480 B.C.) with the capable Kuan Chung 管仲 (died 645 B.C.) as Minister of State Duke Huan 齊桓公 (reigned 685-643 B.C.) of Ch'i became the most powerful feudal lord. In 681 B.C. in the name of the weak King Li 周釐王 (reigned 681-677 B.C.) of Chou he summoned the rulers of the other states to a conference. He proposed to send a punitive campaign against the Lu State whose ruler failed to attend the conference. The ruler of the Sung State disagreed with him and withdrew from the conference. Duke Huan was angry at his withdrawal and wanted to send a punitive campaign against Sung first. Kuan Chung counseled him still to campaign against Lu first

but instead of Lu, attack Sui 遂, a satellite of Lu. He said that Sui being a small state, was easy to overrun and once it was conquered Lu would be alarmed and would submit to Ch'i and if Lu submitted, Sung might follow suit. Duke Huan took his advice and after a successful campaign against Sui, Lu submitted to his hegemony. In 680 B.C. Duke Huan planned to campaign against Sung. His Privy Councillor Ning Ch'i 甯戚 volunteered to go to see the ruler of Sung and convince him of the need to submit to Ch'i's hegemony. With Duke Huan's permission he went and obtained Sung's submission.

Strategy 27: 假痴不癡 Pretend to be a Fool But Actually Not Stupid at All

解說：寧偽作不知不爲；不偽作假知妄爲。
。靜不露機，雲雷屯也。

Explication: Better pretend to know nothing and do nothing than pretend to know and do things recklessly. Keep quiet and betray no secret like clouds and thunder in abeyance in winter.

The last statement is from the text of Diagram *Chun* 屯 (Difficulty at the Beginning). When faced with initial difficulty, the superior man holds off any rash action but takes time in observation and planning like clouds and thunder in abeyance in winter.

The strategy is to pretend to be unknowing or weak and then strike the enemy when he is unaware.

During the reign of Emperor Ts'ao Fang 曹芳 (reigned A.D. 240-253), third ruler of the Wei dynasty Marquis Ssü-ma I 司馬懿 (A.D. 178-251) was very powerful and was in command of the army. Ts'ao Shuang 曹爽 (died A.D. 249), a scion of the Royal House, tried to

whittle down his power by gradually taking over his command. Ssü-ma I pretended to be dull-witted and ignorant because of old age and not knowing of his intention. Then all of a sudden he staged a coup, killed Ts'ao Shuang and regained all his military power.

Elderly Chinese remember well that when Yüan Shih-k'ai (1859-1916), Peiyang militarist who succeeded Dr. Sun Yat-sen as President of the Chinese Republic in 1912, betrayed the Republic's trust and revived the monarchical system in 1914, declaring himself Emperor. He suspected that Ts'ai O 蔡鍔 (1882-1916) would be among those who would oppose his monarchy and ordered that he be put under surveillance. Ts'ai O who was then in Peking, the capital, indulged in a life of pleasure, drinking, feasting and consorting with a singsong girl Hsiao Feng-hsien 小鳳仙. Yüan was taken in by his deceptive behavior and relaxed his surveillance. Then Ts'ai O escaped to Yunnan where he joined with T'ang Chi-yao 唐繼堯 and Li Lieh-chün 李烈鈞, Military Governors of Yunnan and Kiangsi respectively, to stage an uprising. An army was organized and marched toward Peking. Its progress was such that on March 22, 1916 Yüan announced the abolition of the monarchy.

Strategy 28: 上屋抽梯 Let the Enemy Climb up the Roof and Then Take Away the Ladder.

解說：假之以便，唆之使前，斷其援應，陷之死地。遇毒，位不當也。

Explication: Give the enemy convenience and support and encourage him to go forward. Then cut off his support and let him be doomed. He meets with disaster because he made a wrong move.

The last statement is from the text of

Diagram *Shih Ho* 噬嗑 (Biting Through). One meets with harm if one took a wrong step.

After the passing of Liu Pei 劉備 (A.D. 162-223), founder the Shu Han 蜀漢 Kingdom, Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮 (A.D. 181-234), Minister of State, was determined to crush the Wei Kingdom whose ruler he considered a usurper of the throne of the Han dynasty, as the first step to unifying the Empire. He led six expeditions against Wei. His fifth expedition in A.D. 231 made rapid progress and reached Ch'i Shan 祁山, east of present-day Li-hsien 禮縣 in Kansu Province and the Wei Emperor Ts'ao Jui 曹叡 (A.D. 205-240) dispatched his veteran military commander Ssü-ma I 司馬懿 (A.D. 178-251) to stop its advance. Ssü-ma I, himself a strategist, had skillfully opposed Chu-ko Liang before by constantly refusing battle so much so that Chu-ko Liang once contemptuously sent him a gift of a woman's headdress as a symbol of his cowardice. When Ssü-ma I arrived at Shang-kuei 上邽, northeast of Ch'i-shan, Chu-ko Liang led his main force there to fight him. Suffering an initial defeat, Ssü-ma I again resorted to the strategy of refusing battle by staunchly guarding the city. As time passed, Chu-ko Liang's forces that had come a long way were running short of provisions and he received orders from Emperor Liu Ch'an 劉禪 (A.D. 207-267) to abandon the expedition and return to Ch'êng-tu. He knew, however, that Ssü-ma I, a skillful commander, would attack his withdrawing troops from the rear and so he planned to deal him a heavy blow to stop his pursuit. When Ssü-ma I heard that Chu-ko Liang was withdrawing his troops, he was puzzled over his withdrawal while winning. He mounted a hill outside the

township of Mu-men 木門 where Chu-ko Liang's forces were quartered and saw many flags still hoisted on the city walls but not a single soldier. Being a cautious man, he suspected this to be a ruse and delayed his pursuit. Only when he found out that Chu-ko Liang's forces had left a long time ago did he order his capable general Chang Ho 張郃 to lead the pursuit with several thousand cavalymen while he himself followed with the main body of his troops. Chang Ho met on the way two feeble ambushes which he bravely repulsed. Emboldened he went in hot pursuit but he was not aware that he was led deep into a narrow vale between two mountains. Suddenly big logs and rocks rolled down from the mountains and Chu-ko Liang's troops blocked the ways of escape. When Ssü-ma I arrived, he found the vale littered with the corpses of his own men, including Chang Ho's. Stunned by the loss, he abandoned the pursuit.

Strategy 29: 樹上開花 Flowers Bloom on the Trees

解說：借局布勢，力小勢大。鴻漸于陸，其羽可用爲儀。

Explication: Use somebody else's power or influence to strengthen your position. Your own strength may be small but the power or influence supporting you is great. Wild geese flying overhead show their magnificent formation with their widespread wings.

The last statement is from the text of Diagram *Chien* 漸 (Gradual Progress). Progress is made gradually like a flight of wild geese, keeping in strict formation, spreading their wings majestically.

This strategy is to use some outside power or influence to attain an end. It is as easy as the blooming of flowers on

trees.

Around A.D. 214 when Liu Pei 劉備 (A.D. 162-223) set out to conquer Yichow 益州 (now Szechwan), he entrusted the administration and defense of Chingchow 荊州 to Kwan Yü 關羽 (died A.D. 219). Anxious to overthrow Ts'ao Ts'ao 曹操 (A.D. 155-220) who was in control of the north, Kwan Yü launched an expedition northward and besieged Fan-ch'êng 樊城 on the Han River. Reinforcements sent by Ts'ao Ts'ao to rescue Fan-ch'êng were disastrously defeated by Kwan Yü. Ts'ao Ts'ao was so shaken by Kwan Yü's lightning advance that he even thought of removing the capital at Hsü-ch'ang 許昌 elsewhere. But Ssü-ma I 司馬懿 (A.D. 178-251), a capable general, suggested to him that he should induce Sun Ch'üan 孫權 (A.D. 181-252), ruler of Wu, to invade Chingchow, for if Sun Ch'üan attacked Chiang-ling 江陵 and Kung-an 公安, respectively capital and strategic city of Chingchow, Kwan Yü would naturally hurry back to defend them and the siege of Fan-ch'êng would be lifted. Ts'ao Ts'ao took his advice and wrote to Sun Ch'üan that if he invaded Chingchow and captured it he would recognize his domination over the territory south of the Yangtze River. Now Sun Ch'üan had long considered that Liu Pei had stolen Chingchow from him after the battle at Red Cliff (See the story in Strategy XXXV) and was thinking that Kwan Yü's northward campaign against Ts'ao Ts'ao provided him with a golden opportunity to regain Chingchow. Upon receipt of Ts'ao Ts'ao's letter he dispatched troops under General Lü Mêng 呂蒙 to attack Chiang-ling and Kung-an. When Kwan Yü heard of the attack on the two cities by Wu troops, he hurriedly withdrew from

Fan-ch'êng and rushed back to their defense. News of the invasion of Chingchow by Wu forces boosted the morale of the defenders of Fan-ch'êng and dampened that of Kwan Yü's troops. In the ensuing battle with the Wu forces Kwan Yü's troops were defeated. Kwan Yü fled to Mai-ch'êng 麥城, southeast of present-day Tang-yang 當陽 in Hupeh Province where he and his son P'ing 平 were taken prisoner and killed.

Strategy 30: 反客爲主 The Stranger Becomes the Master

解說：乘隙挿足，扼其主機，漸之進也。

Explication: Step in on the slimiest chance and hold the key position. The advance is slow but sure.

The last statement is also from the text of Diagram *Chien* 漸 (Gradual Progress). Gradual development lets matters take their proper course and run into no mishap.

The strategy is to seize the initiative.

In A.D. 765 the Uigurs and Turfans jointly rebelled and invaded T'ang territory. The veteran General Kuo Tzū-i 郭子儀 (A.D. 697-781) was sent with 10,000 men against some 300,000 barbarians. As his force was overwhelmingly outnumbered, it was besieged by the enemy in the city of Ching-yang 涇陽 in Shensi Province. Kuo Tzū-i remembered that he knew many of the Uigur generals for he had fought with them against An Lu-shan 安祿山 (died A.D. 757), the rebel of Turkic descent. He sent an emissary to see the Uigur chieftain and talk him out of the rebellion. The chieftain wanted Kuo Tzū-i to come and talk with him personally. When the emissary returned to report the chieftain's request, all Kuo Tzū-i's

aides advised him not to go to the chieftain's camp for fear it was a trap. But he bravely went there alone and quickly renewed friendship with the Uigurs. He asked them not only to withdraw from the invasion but even to join him to fight against the Turfans whom he accused of alienating T'ang and the Uigurs and stirring up hostilities between them. His success in reversing the situation grew out of his ability to seize the initiative.

Strategy 31: 美人計 The Beauty Plot

解說：兵強者，攻其將，將智者，伐其情。
。將弱兵頹，自勢自萎。利用禦寇，順相保也。

Explication: If the rank and file are strong, attack the commander. If the commander is clever, attack his mind. When the morale of the commander and his troops is low, they are doomed. This situation is especially favorable for defense against incursions and for self-consolidation.

The last statement is from the text of Diagram *Chien* 漸 (Gradual Progress). The circumstances referred to above are favorable for guarding against enemy penetration and for consolidating one's own position.

The strategy as the title indicates is to use sex to weaken the enemy, to secure vital information from him or to undermine his strategy. Beautiful women are often used as spies or subversive agents.

The most illustrious case in Chinese history wherein a great beauty was used to undermine a state was Hsi Shih 西施. Toward the end of the Spring and Autumn Annals period (722-481/480 B.C.) and the beginning of the Warring States period (403-221 B.C.) the King-

doms of Wu and Yüeh were at loggerheads. In 493 B.C. Yüeh was utterly defeated by Wu in a battle at Fu-chiao 夫椒 and sued for peace. Prince Fu Ch'ai 夫差 (reigned 495-473 B.C.) of Wu made Yüeh a vassal state and to humiliate Prince Kou Chien 勾踐 (reigned 496-464 B.C.) of Yüeh he made him and his wife servants in his palace. After three years' servitude the royal couple was set free and allowed to return to Yüeh. Once back home Prince Kou Chien vowed vengeance. He daily drank out of a vessel filled with gall and nightly slept on firewood to remind himself of his vow. He subjected his soldiers to severe training and accepting a plot devised by his counselor Fan Li 范蠡, he found a most beautiful girl Hsi Shih washing silk by a brook at Ling-lo Village 苧蘿村, near present-day Chu-chi 諸暨 in Che-kiang Province and trained her in deportment, dancing and singing. After three years' training, she was presented to Prince Fu Ch'ai. Prince Fu Ch'ai was so fascinated by her that he daily indulged in sensual pleasure with her on the Ku-su Terrace 姑蘇臺, a magnificent edifice and in a beautiful palace specially built for her on Ling Yen Hill 靈巖山. He lived a life of debauchery and neglected the affairs of the state. Prince Kou Chien then launched a series of attacks on Wu, overthrew Prince Fu Ch'ai and annexed the Wu State.

Strategy 32: 空城計 The Vacant City

解說：虛者虛之，疑中生疑。剛柔之際，奇而復奇。

Explication: Make the empty more empty and the suspicious more suspicious. In a contest between strength and weakness make the surprising more surprising.

In the last statement "a contest between strength and weakness" is from the text of Diagram *Hsieh* 解 (Deliverance). In such a contest it is good strategy for the weak to capitalize on the enemy's doubt or suspicion.

This is the strategy of making full use of the enemy's doubt or suspicion to avert a dangerous situation or gain the upper hand of him.

The most outstanding case of the use of the enemy's doubt to avert a dangerous situation was Chu-ko Liang's 諸葛亮 (A.D. 181-234) strategy of the "Vacant City" against Ssü-ma I 司馬懿 (A.D. 178-251), commander of the Wei army. Chu-ko Liang happened to be with a small force at Yang-p'ing 陽平, a township east of present-day Ta-ming 大名 in Hopei Province. Ssü-ma I suddenly swept down with a big army, outnumbering Chu-ko Liang's force enormously. Chu-ko Liang knew that his small force would be crushed in case of a fight and reinforcements could not arrive in time. He ordered all his officers and men to hide away and make not the least noise. When Ssü-ma I arrived, he found all the town gates wide open. Up on the town walls there was not a single soldier or flag. The town was eerily silent. He was sorely puzzled and reasoned that Chu-ko Liang being a cautious man would not stay in a defenseless town. Fearing of falling into a trap, he ordered his troops to beat a hasty retreat. Chu-ko Liang later told his subordinates that he knew that Ssü-ma I was a suspicious man and would not take any unjustifiable risk; were he rash and impulsive, he (Chu-ko Liang) would not have used this most risky strategy.

Strategy 33: 反間計 To Contrive to Set the Enemy at Loggerheads

解說：疑中之疑，比之自內，不自失也。

Explication: If the enemy creates suspicion among us, turn it back to them. If you hold yourselves together inwardly, you won't lose yourselves.

The last statement is from the text of Diagram *Pi* 比 (Holding Together). This is the strategic attitude you should take in case the enemy tries to create suspicion among you.

If the enemy adopts the strategy of creating dissension among us, the counter-strategy is to ingeniously turn it back on them. Espionage and counter-espionage are strategies of this nature. Thus if we can identify an enemy spy seeking our classified information, we may intentionally let some false information fall into his hands. When he transmits such false information back to his government, it will work to its disadvantage.

During the war between Liu Pang 劉邦 (247-195 B.C.) and Hsiang Yü 項羽 (233-202 B.C.) for supremacy after the overthrow of the Ch'in dynasty, Liu Pang was once besieged by Hsiang Yü at Jung-yang 滎陽. He consulted his two able strategists Chang Liang 張良 (died 187 B.C.) and Ch'en P'ing 陳平 (died 178 B.C.). Ch'en P'ing suggested a plot to hold off Hsiang Yü's attack on the city while reinforcements from Han Hsin 韓信 (died 196 B.C.) were being sent for, and also to alienate Hsiang Yü and his most capable counselor Fan Ts'eng 范增 (278-204 B.C.). Setting his plot in motion, Liu Pang sent an emissary Sui Ho 隨何 to Hsiang Yü to sue for peace and ask him to send a man to accompany him back to Liu Pang to discuss the details. Hsiang Yü sent Yü Tzū-ch'i 虞子期 as his envoy. Upon arrival at Jung-yang Yü Tzū-ch'i sent an

aide to arrange the date of his interview with Liu Pang. The aide was received by Chang Liang and Ch'en P'ing who in their conversation asked as if inadvertently whether Fan Ts'eng had any message for them. The aide suspected that Fan Ts'eng had clandestine dealings with Liu Pang and reported his suspicion to Yü Tzū-ch'i. On the appointed day Sui Ho conducted Yü Tzū-ch'i into Liu Pang's study and told him to wait there, saying that Liu Pang was taking a bath and he left. Yü Tzū-ch'i incidentally saw an anonymous letter on the desk, advising Liu Pang not to surrender at this juncture but fight on and assuring him that with him working subversively in Hsiang Yü's camp he (Liu Pang) would surely win at the end. Though unsigned it read very much like Fan Ts'eng's hand-writing. He secretly pocketed the letter and brought it back to show Hsiang Yü. After reading the letter, Hsiang Yü suspected Fan Ts'eng of treason and dismissed him.

Strategy 34: 苦肉計 The Plot of Self-torture

解說：人不自害，受害必真。假真真假，間以得行。童蒙之吉，順以巽也。

Explication: A man won't torture himself. If he does, it can only be real. If he makes it real and makes others believe it is real, his plot will succeed. Childlike folly brings good fortune because it is subservient and pliant.

The last statement is from the text of Diagram *Mêng* 蒙 (Youthful Folly). In other words, take advantage of the enemy's childlike folly or ignorance to defeat him.

In the Warring States period (403-221 B.C.) Prince Kuang 公子光 of the Wu State usurped the throne by assassinating

his elder brother Prince Liao 僚 (reigned 526-515 B.C.) and declared himself Prince Ho-lu 闔廬 (reigned 514-496 B.C.). But he feared his nephew Ch'ing Chi 慶忌, then on a mission to the Wei State, who was a giant, tall, strong and muscular and capable of wrestling a wild beast or catching with his bear hand a bird flying past. He would not feel at ease until the young man was put out of the way. He sought a would-be assassin to undertake this task. His Minister Wu Tzu-hsü 伍子胥 recommended Yao Li 要離 who he said was a very courageous man. When Yao Li was brought to his presence, he found him a dwarf, small and lean. He was diffident that he could assassinate Ch'ing Chi and asked, "How can you perform this difficult and dangerous task?"

"I know what Your Highness is thinking about. But a good would-be assassin uses not strength but craftiness to do his job. I need a pretext to approach Ch'ing Chi. Please cut off my right arm and kill my wife."

"I cannot do such cruelty without a good reason."

"I will provide Your Highness with a good reason."

Yao Li left.

A few days later a man was arrested for openly denouncing Prince Ho-lu as a usurper in the market-place and was brought to the Prince's presence. The Prince saw that he was no other than Yao Li and knew why he did such a thing and ordered that his right arm be cut off and he and his wife be put in prison. However, he let him escape and put his wife to death as a punishment.

Yao Li made his way to Wei and ingratiated himself into Ch'ing Chi's favor and trust. When Ch'ing Chi launched a punitive expedition by land and river against Prince Ho-lu, he went with him,

declaring that he would avenge himself on Prince Ho-lu for mutilating him and killing his wife. He served as Ch'ing Chi's bodyguard, standing by his side with a spear in hand aboard his ship. When Ch'ing Chi was unaware, he plunged his spear into him from behind, piercing him from back to front. Ch'ing Chi was so strong that, despite the fatal wound, he caught hold of Yao Li and dumped him headlong three times in the river but the latter climbed back onto the deck. When his guards rushed up to kill Yao Li, Ch'ing Chi stopped them saying, "Don't kill him but set him free. He is a brave man and has made enough sacrifices to do his job." He drew his spear out of his chest and died.*

Yao Li felt ashamed of being pardoned by the magnanimous Ch'ing Chi and of his own treachery and craftiness in assassinating him. He took a sword and slashed his own throat on the spot.

Strategy 35: 連環計 The "Chain" Strategy

解說：將多兵衆，不可以敵，使其自累，以殺其勢。在師中吉，承天寵也。

Explication: Do not fight a big army commanded by many capable generals. Set them at odds with each other to reduce their prowess. One who is auspiciously present in the army is favored by Heaven.

The last statement is from the text of Diagram *Shih* 師 (The Army). It refers to King Wu 武王 (1169-1116 B.C.), founder of the Chou dynasty, who was in the midst of the army in the uprising against the tyrant Emperor Chou 紂 (died 1122 B.C.), last sovereign of the Yin dynasty. He was favored by Heaven to be the new sovereign for his bold leader-

ship in overthrowing despotism and rescuing the people. It implies that one who fights for a righteous cause against great odds would get Heaven's help.

The strategy as indicated in the title is to link up two or more plots to attain the maximum effect.

A classic example was the multiple strategy that Chou Yü 周瑜 (A.D. 174-218), commander of the Wu naval force, employed in defeating Ts'ao Ts'ao's 曹操 (A.D. 155-220) armada at Red Cliff on the Yangtze River in Hupeh in A.D. 208. Ts'ao Ts'ao claimed to command a naval force of 800,000 strong in his invasion of Wu. He sent Chiang Kan 蔣幹, a former schoolmate of Chou Yü, to spy on Wu defenses. Chou Yü pretended to be very happy to see him and received him with great hospitality. He treated him to a feast and slept with him on the same bed in his cabin at night. He forged a letter of treason supposedly written by Ts'ao Ts'ao's two naval commanders Ts'ai Mei 蔡瑁 and Chang Yün 張允, veterans of naval operations, which he put on his desk intentionally. Chiang Kan incidentally found the letter and stole it. He took it back and presented it to Ts'ao Ts'ao. Ts'ao Ts'ao immediately executed his two most capable naval officers. A second plot that Chou Yü devised was the feigned surrender of his veteran general Huang Kai 黃蓋. Huang Kai pretended to oppose resistance to Ts'ao Ts'ao's expedition and advocate surrender. Chou Yü ordered him to be flogged a hundred blows for insubordination and treason. Huang Kai then wrote a letter of feigned surrender to Ts'ao Ts'ao, saying that in the ensuing naval battle he would come over in a boat flying a green flag. A third plot that Chou Yü set on foot was P'ang T'ung's 龐統 visit to Ts'ao Ts'ao. Ts'ao

Ts'ao sent Chiang Kan to see Chou Yü a second time. This time Chou Yü lodged him in a temple on the Western Hills. While taking a stroll in the hills, he heard a man in a cottage reciting a book on the art of war. He got curious and called at the cottage. He found that it was the young P'ang T'ung, a well-known strategist. He invited him to go with him to see Ts'ao Ts'ao. In his interview with Ts'ao Ts'ao, P'ang T'ung pointed out that his troops who were mostly northerners were not adept at naval operations and would easily get seasick and suggested that his ships be chained severally together so that they would be more steady on water. Ts'ao Ts'ao accepted his suggestion and chained his ships.

These three plots worked together in the ensuing naval battle: The execution of Ts'ai Mei and Chang Yün deprived Ts'ao Ts'ao of two veterans in naval operations. Huang Kai's feigned surrender allowed him and his men to board Ts'ao Ts'ao's ships and set them afire with torches. The ships chained together could not be easily maneuvered about and the fire soon spread all over them.

Strategy 36: 走爲上 Retreat Is Safest.

解說：全師避敵，左次無咎，未失常也。

Explication: Withdraw all your troops in face of an overwhelmingly strong enemy. To beat an orderly retreat under such circumstances is not a wrong strategy.

The last statement is from the text of Diagram *Shih* 師 (The Army) in which it is said that in face of a superior army, with whom it would be hopeless to engage in battle, an orderly retreat is the proper strategy because it will save your own

army from defeat. Whether a retreat should be made or not depends upon the circumstances. Before a decision to retreat is made the circumstances should be carefully weighed. Retreat does not always mean cowardice. It may be a prelude to advance as the Chinese saying goes: 以退爲進 Retreat in order to advance. This is a common strategy used militarily or politically.

During the reign of Prince Chuang 楚莊王 (reigned 613-591 B.C.) of the Ch'u State the small states to its south made forages in its territory in time of drought. As the main body of the Ch'u forces was guarding the northern borders against the two big states Chin and Ch'i to prevent their invasion, only a small force remained to protect the southern borders. In operations against the Yung State 庸國, Ch'u force was greatly outnumbered. The Ch'u commander Shih Shu 師叔 decided to use strategy rather than manpower against Yung. In seven engagements with Yung he feigned retreat each time after a half-hearted fight. The Yung troops thought the Ch'u force was weak and cowardly and were emboldened and penetrated deep into Ch'u territory, leaving their flanks unprotected. Under orders from Prince Chuang, all Ch'u forces not guarding the northern borders were rallied. They enveloped the Yung and crushed them at a blow. The Yung State was annexed to Ch'u.

The thirty-six strategies given above are, of course, not the only ones known. There are others not included by the anonymous author. Practically all these thirty-six strategies have been used with telling effects in history. When an unprecedented crisis or situation arises, a new strategy need be devised or an old strategy employed in a new way. An old

strategy that has been used too often may lose its element of surprise and therefore may be less effective. Or, if it is anticipated by the enemy, he may devise a counter-strategy to nullify it. The best strategy is new, unpredictable, practical and fool-proof.

The world today is pregnant with

crises and intricate situations. A national leader needs to have not only leadership and charisma but also resourcefulness to cope with a crisis or an emergency. He would betray his inability if he failed to devise or cause to devise an effective strategy to deal with it.

NOTES

- ¹ Tao refers to Wei Yen 魏冉, maternal uncle of Prince Chao Hsiang 秦昭襄王 (reigned 306-251 B.C.) of the Ch'in State. He was thrice Minister of State and was made Marquis of Jang 穰侯 and later enfeoffed in Tao 陶.
- ² Wei refers to Wei Yang 衛鞅 (died 338 B.C.), also known as Shang Yang 商鞅, a native of the Wei State. About 350 B.C. he entered into the service of Duke Hsiao 秦孝公 (reigned 361-338 B.C.) of the Ch'in State. He conducted reforms, enacted a code of laws which was rigidly enforced and made Ch'in very strong.
- ³ Book XI, Hsien Chin, Chapter II, *Confucian Analects*.
- ⁴ This information is from the preface of the Chinese book *The Stories of the Thirty-six Strategies* by Chiang Kuo-wei and Chiang Yung-k'ang 1st. Edition, Kweichow People's Publishing House, Kweiyang, 1983.

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Island Metamorphosis: Guam's History of Conflict and Adaptation

Laura Souder-Jaffery

The set of beliefs and behavior patterns which comprise the cultural complex known as Chamorro derives from a dialectical relationship between the ancient Chamorro order and the ever-changing realities wrought by historical circumstances. This paper provides an overview of external forces which have influenced the evolution of Guam and its people.¹

THE BIRTH OF AN ISLAND AND THE ORIGIN OF ITS PEOPLE

... in the beginning, in the limitless space of the Universe, before the creation of the earth and the sky, there lived an omnipotent being named Putan. As eons of time went by Putan felt himself about to die, so he called his sister, Fuuna, who, like himself, had been born without the help of father or mother, and gave her explicit directions as to the disposal of his body, and conferred upon her all his miraculous powers. He decreed that upon his death his eyes should become the sun and moon; his breast, the sky; his back, the earth; his eyebrows, the rainbow; and the rest of his anatomical parts, the lesser things of the world and the nether regions.

In due time Putan died and Fuuna carried out her brother's wishes to the letter, and so the world was created.

When Fuuna contemplated the beautiful earth that had been brought into being by her brother's command, she decided that it should be peopled with men and women created in the likeness of her brother and herself. So, to this end, in order to best accomplish her purpose, she established herself as a sea-girt rock in the Southern part of Guahan and after she had done this she decreed, on her own account, that a certain kind of earth on this rock should first become a stone which would in time give birth to all people. So she gathered a great quantity of this earth, mixed it with the waters of the sea and caused it to solidify into a great stone. Then she commanded that this stone divide itself into many stones, a great number of which she imbued with life, and thus they became the human stock from which the races of men were disseminated throughout the world.²

Geologists have established that the birth of the island of Guam occurred within the last fifty to sixty million years of geologic time, in the Cenozoic era. As a result of a succession of massive convulsions at the bottom of the Pacific Ocean, the Marianas wrinkle developed. Through time, explosion followed explosion. These eruptions repeatedly deposited lava and limestone forming

a peak of volcanic debris 14,000 feet high. As this initial phase of volcanic activity subsided, other natural forces went to work to form the island's topography and its surrounding reefs. Subsequent volcanic eruptions created the now familiar rolling hills and peaks in the landscape. The ocean's activities made further alterations. A stable ecosystem evolved long before the first brave voyagers ventured into the Pacific in search of a new homeland.

Anthropologists, archaeologists, botanists, and linguists have provided several theories of migration. Material remains give us our only clues regarding the first human settlements on Guam. While the exact details of Oceanic prehistory remain unknown, it is generally accepted that mass migrations from Asia into the areas known as Polynesia and Micronesia began approximately 4,000 years ago. Seafaring people from the Asian Continent migrated eastward to settle in the Marianas around 1500 B.C. or earlier. They brought breadfruit, bananas, taro, and coconuts with them on their long voyages across the uncharted seas. Their swift, seaworthy canoes allowed them to travel great distances. Those who inhabited Guam were descended from the rice-growing and betelnut-chewing peoples of Southeast Asia. Much of the evidence being uncovered by modern science links the ancestors of present-day Chamorros with Malaysia, Cambodia, and the Philippines. Stone, shell and bone implements, pottery sherds, the remains of latte structures, petroglyphs, and human skeletons unearthed by excavations shed some light on where the first inhabitants lived, the tools they made and used, their living arrangements, and burial practices. Missing pieces

of this archaeological puzzle far outnumber what is available. Nevertheless, these scientific speculations have irrevocably altered prevailing views of the early Chamorros.

THE FIRST ENCOUNTER WITH THE WEST

Douglas Oliver in his book, *The Pacific Islands*, gives a succinct description of the initial period of contact between the indigenous population of Guam and the Spanish explorers who first sailed the Pacific:

The rape of Oceania began with Guam. Two and a half centuries before the unsuspecting savages of Polynesia welcomed white masters to their shores, Guam's fate was already sealed. Magellan led the procession in 1521 and left the usual calling cards.³

Magellan's chronicler, Pigafetta, recorded the first known account of contact in this way:

After sailing sixty leagues on the aforesaid course, and being in twelve degrees of latitude and one hundred and forty-six of longitude, on Wednesday the sixth of March we discovered a small island to the northwest, and two others toward the southwest. One of these islands was larger and higher than the other two. And the captain-general wished to approach the largest of these three islands to replenish his provisions. But it was not possible, for the people of those islands entered the ships and robbed us so that we could not protect ourselves from them. And when we wished to strike and take in the sails so as to land, they stole very quickly the small boat called a skiff which was fastened to the poop of the captain's ship. At which he, being angry, went

ashore with forty armed men. And burning some forty or fifty houses with several boats and killing seven men of the said island, they recovered their skiff. Soon after, we left, taking the same course. And before we landed several of our sick men had begged us, if we killed man or woman, to bring them their entrails. For immediately they would be healed.⁴

Pain and misunderstanding abounded at that moment of fatal impact. Magellan's visit set the tone for many subsequent encounters. It is not surprising that historical accounts since have reported conflict albeit with an overwhelming Western bias. Descriptions, like the following, abound in the literature depicting Chamorros:

The character of the natives, which at first seemed to be very simple and free from all deceit; for which they were highly praised by the first Jesuit Fathers and Spaniards who dealt with them, and who allowed themselves to be persuaded by the kind reception and hospitality shown to them, proved afterwards deceitful and treacherous, as they would hide their wounded feelings for a year or more until an opportunity for revenge arose; and as to the truth, they had so little regard for it that they would never let a promise stand in the way of what they really wanted to do.⁵

Unfortunately, secondary sources of the history of Guam have reinforced such views and have consequently had a denigrating effect on the modern Chamorros' perception of the past.

SPANISH MISSIONARIES AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COLONY

Despite the unsavory beginning

marked by Magellan's brief stopover, the next century and a half was a period of relative quiet punctuated intermittently by the activities of a handful of adventurous explorers in search of land, riches, knowledge, and souls. In 1565 Legaspi claimed the chain of 15 islands situated between the 13th and 20th parallels of north latitude and along the 145th meridian east of Greenwich, and named them the Marianas in honor of the Spanish Queen Mariana of Austria. Guam lies at the southernmost end of the chain and covers approximately 212 square miles. This barely visible dot on the map called Guahan was a sacred place to the Ancient Chamorros who believed that all life sprang from its soil. It was treated as everything but sacred by the long line of visitors who have since alighted on its shores.

The establishment of the first Spanish settlement and mission in 1668 signaled a succession of violent clashes between the natives and their conquerors. With the padres and later the Spanish soldiers to protect them came a code of ethics, ideology, and social system completely alien to the ancients. Spanish-Chamorro Wars spanning the 30-year period 1670 to 1700, resulted in the decimation of the Chamorro male population.⁶ Disease and natural disasters further reduced the number of indigenes from between 50,000 and 100,000 at contact to less than 5,000 by the end of the seventeenth century.⁷

In the lifespan of one generation the Chamorro social and political order, which had evolved through several millennia, was profoundly threatened. Carano and Sanchez, writers of the first comprehensive history of Guam, summarize the effects of this era thusly:

At the end of the period of conquest, Christianity, which was to play a major role in the history of Guam, was firmly established as the religion of the people. As a result of the various commanders and Governors who administered the affairs of the island during the wars, Spanish law and the Spanish pattern of government became an integral part of the life of Guam. Such influences were to prevail until 1898 and even after.⁸

To the ancient Chamorros of precontact times, who believed that they were the original race and that their island of Guahan was the center of the Universe, the biblical account of creation and its concomitant explanation of the physical world which was introduced as part of the mental baggage of the early explorers must have been totally incomprehensible. Through several centuries of contact with Western thought, the ancient Chamorro world view, unable to compete with foreign conquerors and their ways, gradually gave in to the prevailing explanations of whence and how Guahan and its people came to be. Thus, the legendary creators, Putan and Fuuna, have been replaced by the Judeo-Christian God.

The Galleon traders between Mexico and the Philippines made regular stopovers on Guam. Expeditions from Russia, France, England, and America visited the island throughout the centuries under Spanish rule. American whalers called at Guam's port. These Filipino, Mexican, and assorted Western influences contributed to the cultural hybrid which became characteristic of the Chamorro way of life. Intermarriages between Chamorro women and men of other races resulted in miscegenation. Spanish colonial influences are still quite evident

in Chamorro beliefs and practices today. Many Chamorros have Spanish surnames and the Chamorro language has incorporated numerous Spanish words. Over two centuries of Spanish colonization had made its indelible imprint on the cultural identity of Chamorros by the late 1800s. Ironically, Spanish officials and native inhabitants of this island possession knew nothing of the turn of the century political movements which would alter the course of Guam's future. The isolation of island administrators and residents was clearly illustrated in the chain of events surrounding the transfer of control over Guam from Spain to the United States.

AMERICAN TAKEOVER AND THE AMERICANIZATION OF GUAM

As is typical of world powers negotiating settlements, Spain and the United States arbitrarily attached Guam to the purchase agreement for the Philippine Islands. Thus, on June 20, 1898 the North American cruiser *Charleston* and her convoy arrived at Guam. Captain Glass was ordered to take possession. In a civil exchange of letters between Captain Glass and the Spanish Governor, Juan Marina, the situation at hand was communicated. Spain gave up her colony in a most peaceful and dignified manner.⁹

American military authority was established. President McKinley placed the control of Guam under the Department of the Navy. For the next fifty years Naval Governors administered island affairs through a series of executive orders which dictated appropriate standards and acceptable behavior for the people of this newly acquired territory. These edicts proclaimed who

could marry whom; when church bells could ring; what language would be used; and prohibited whistling and spitting, particularly of betelnut spittle as the unsightly splotches of red offended the delicate wives of naval officers during their afternoon strolls. Many of these orders had profound effects on how Chamorros in the early twentieth century began to readjust their perceptions of themselves. The first four decades of American rule could be characterized as a period of do's and don'ts. Through the institution of a new form of government, health programs, and an American education system, implemented primarily by U.S. military personnel, the people of Guam were introduced to the American way of life.

From the perspective of American historiography, World War II and the postwar years proved to be a more active and challenging period in the Americanization process.¹⁰ Guam was captured and occupied by Japanese armed forces from December 8, 1941 to July 21, 1944 when American troops liberated the island. The Japanese occupation caused severe hardship to Chamorros, who were coerced into serving the Imperial forces and complying with their demands. The people suffered atrocities such as rape, physical injuries and even death, enforced manual labor, and inhuman treatment in concentration camps. They put their hope for freedom in the hands of God and the American G.I.'s. The refrain of an underground song composed during the war expressed the prevailing sentiment well: "Oh, Mr. Sam, Sam, my dear Uncle Sam, Won't you please come back to Guam?" Loyalty to the Stars and Stripes reached fanatic proportions during these years.¹¹ It is no wonder that Chamorros were

described as being more patriotic than the patriots.

Gratitude to the United States for liberating them from the Japanese fueled a sense of patriotism in the period following World War II. Chamorro leaders were more determined than ever to achieve United States citizenship for their people. There was a move to establish civilian government. It is doubtful that Washington was responding wholly to the clamor over "inalienable rights" across the continent and the Pacific Ocean. Nonetheless, Congress passed the Organic Act of Guam and President Truman signed it into law in August, 1950. This new "law of the land" transferred jurisdiction over the Territory to the Department of the Interior. A presidentially-appointed Civilian Governor replaced the Naval Administrator as the highest ranking American official on Guam. The establishment of civilian government and the newly conferred citizenship status were interpreted then as a measure of self-rule. Island residents elected a non-voting Delegate to Congress in 1965. The first gubernatorial election was held in 1970.

In addition to postwar political developments, other factors served as major catalysts for change and cultural adaptation. The early Sixties is considered the threshold of the modern era on Guam for several reasons. In 1963 the heretofore required Naval Security Clearance for entry into Guam was lifted. The island's relatively homogeneous population was now exposed to large groups of alien laborers, foreign investors, and statesiders in growing numbers who, for economic and other reasons, decided to make Guam their home. The lifting of the security closure

provided the impetus for unprecedented non-military and non-governmental economic growth. Tourism developed as a major industry. Today over a quarter of a million tourists visit Guam annually, most of them from Japan.¹² The animosity towards Japanese during the war has trickled down through several generations and occasionally surfaces as crimes against these visitors.

The composition of the local population has changed drastically. In 1940 Chamorros constituted 90 percent of Guam's inhabitants. This percentage was reduced dramatically in the next few decades so that by 1970 Chamorros comprised roughly 56 percent of the island's residents.¹³ Once the dominant cultural group on Guam, Chamorros are fast becoming a minority in their homeland. Although most island politicians like to describe the population as a heterogeneous melting pot, the reality of ethnic conflict cannot be ignored. Tension between Chamorros and Filipinos or Statesiders is a product of competition for employment, services, and other benefits available in the name of progress. Limited opportunities have worked to the disadvantage of Chamorros, who often do not possess the training or skills in demand. The struggle for political control also presents problems.

Two other events have been associated with the cultural upheaval which thrust Guam into the modern age. Typhoon Karen hit on 11 November 1962, flattening the island and killing seven people. The catastrophe was declared a national disaster. Millions of federal dollars poured into Guam to assist in reconstruction. New homes, schools, churches, health facilities, and businesses were built. Public projects proliferated.

The military expanded its installations. Post-typhoon rehabilitation funds created an economic euphoria. Chamorros abandoned their farms to join the ranks of civil service and private sector employees. Old neighborhood patterns were disrupted by subdivisions designed after the grid system of America's cities and housing developments. Another boom occurred with rehabilitation funding after the onslaught of Typhoon Pamela in 1976.

Economic prosperity has taken its toll. Crime, cost of living, and competition for limited resources have increased tremendously. The number of recipients of food stamps and other government handouts is steadily growing. Guam has shifted from being a self-sufficient community to a consumer society which imports most of its food requirements and nearly all other commodities. Programs in agriculture, fisheries, and local industrial enterprises have reduced Guam's dependence on outside resources somewhat. But the island has a long way to go before it can reach the economic balance that existed before the boom.

Air travel has given mobility to island residents. For those who remain on Guam, television brings the world into their living rooms. Chamorro historian, Robert A. Underwood has recently described the impact of mass media as the most effective vehicle of Americanization today. The following are selected excerpts outlining his position:

As the institution to which all groups come into contact with, the media is in the rather influential position of being able to project images of the island to the people who live on it.

... it tells us what is going on at

home and does so in every aspect of the way information is given to us.

... This function of the media is acculturative in a very unique way. Not only does it make us feel homesick for places we have never been, but it gives us the uneasy feeling that what we experience daily is abnormal. The real world, the normal world, the model world is what we read about, hear about and visualize on television ... This normal world is in reality the world of the American, suburban middle-class family.

The underlying message is that the lifestyles and expectations of the people of Guam and of Los Angeles share a common denominator. Thus, artificial bonds and false ideals are engendered by this type of daily exposure. Underwood argues further that:

Mainstream America, the America that we all want to become a part of simply does not exist on Guam [Emphasis mine.] Despite the increasing numbers of "Statesiders" on Guam, there is no white middle class. Despite attempts to construct similar communities to those found in the States, islanders regularly confound the planners by raising chickens and building outside kitchens. Yet, the mainstream American cultural image is what we seek to emulate without having personal experience with it. Since it doesn't really exist on Guam and the school does an imperfect job of producing the mainstream, it is left to the media to interpret and purvey the image of mainstream to a society 5,500 miles away from it.

Television programming is the clearest purveyor of this image of what constitutes the mainstream. In fact, the media becomes the mainstream.¹⁴

Definitions about what constitutes

normality based on mainstream values exacerbates the identity crisis brought on by modernization. Addressing the cultural implications of the mass media on Guam, Underwood states:

Culturally, mass media on Guam behaves in two distinct ways. The first is that they actively engage in cultural genocide. ... By cultural genocide I mean that the media messages promote a disengaging from Chamorro Culture, the indigenous culture of Guam. *The Chamorro Culture becomes, when it is mentioned, a relic of the past, an entity seemingly alien to both the sender and the receiver of a mass media message. This process of objectifying the Chamorro reality quickly leads to its de-humanization. It is no longer a human activity subject to human change and innovation. It is a static object which is beyond our input as humans in the present* [emphasis mine]. All questions about it have been previously resolved and all that is left to us is a decision to make reference to it or not.¹⁵

I do not subscribe to the media's image of Chamorro Culture as a relic of the past. Unfortunately, many Chamorros and most of the non-Chamorro ethnic groups on the island unquestioningly accept the white middle-class reality in America as the cultural norm which must be aspired to at all costs. For Chamorros whose only homeland is the Mariana Islands, such influences have challenged their cultural identity.

Chamorros have paid a heavy price in the course of pursuing the "American Dream." According to the *Guam Comprehensive Development Plan* of 1978:

The colonial history of the island has benefitted Guam's development in many ways. It has introduced

many new political ideas, scientific advances, and economic progress. However, the island's people have had little input into the development of Guam's political and social institutions. Outside forces in control of the island have viewed Guam's culture as a stumbling block to what they have defined as progress. This has resulted in an unnatural and unbalanced development of the island's culture. A serious consequence has been the development of a negative self-image regarding island values. The comparison of local lifestyles to "stateside" lifestyles in order to measure progress and success often results in negative self-images of Guam and its culture.¹⁶

The extent and desirability of Americanization on Guam is a debate that promises to rage on for years to come. The point to be recognized is that the Chamorro way of life exists as a fully established cultural system known, valued, and practiced by the descendants of the indigenous inhabitants of Guam.

THOUGHTS ON CHAMORRO CULTURE AND IDENTITY

The cultural challenges facing Chamorros in the 1980s are necessarily different from those encountered through 463 years of contact with other cultures. The identity problem is introduced here as a way of characterizing the cultural climate that pervades on Guam today. The issues surrounding Chamorro identity are extremely complicated and can be dealt with only briefly in this overview. Awareness that the situation exists, however, is essential to understanding the lives of Chamorro people. It is also an important consideration as we begin to address the question, how

American is Guam?

Residents of Guam, excluding non-immigrant aliens, are American citizens, who have not yet "earned" the right to vote for the President. Almost everyone on Guam can speak English. We have American political, economic, and educational institutions. Guam boasts the regular fastfood and entertainment attractions of most American communities its size. But, as military personnel who still consider assignment to Guam as hardship duty often attest, once one starts peeling away the veneer, things become increasingly unfamiliar. Department of Commerce statistics reveal that in 1978 Guam's population breakdown including military personnel and their dependents was 47.8 percent Chamorro; 23.5 percent white; 20 percent Filipino; 1 percent Chinese; 2.9 percent Korean; 1.4 percent Japanese; 2.7 percent Micronesian; and 1.2 percent other races.

Besides looking different, the local people act differently. For example, having strong extended families and a collective sense of reciprocal obligation are characteristic of at least half of the islanders. Other behavioral anomalies defy the conventions of the mainstream American culture.

Nonetheless, many Chamorros are convinced that Guam has become an overseas suburb of Los Angeles County. They operate under the misguided impression that they are faced with an either/or dilemma. The Chamorro identity crisis is often defined in terms of how American one is. In other words, the problem is perceived in terms of whether one is "allowed" by societal norms to be Chamorro in an American context. The identity question has been mysteriously linked to such concerns

as to whether one can in fact be Chamorro and American at the same time. Being of Chamorro "ethnicity" is somehow rationalized as being acceptable; after all, America is a nation of "subcultures." In this manner the fundamental issue of cultural sovereignty, i.e., the inalienable right of Chamorros to continue to be Chamorro, speak Chamorro, and live a Chamorro way of life in the face of rapid modernization and change, is avoided.

Those Chamorros unconvinced by the above argument manifest their resistance in various ways — by continuing to raise chickens in a suburban neighborhood, by promoting language and culture programs in the schools, by organizing nationalistic groups such as PARA-PADA, by raising issues related to political status and economic development.¹⁷

This brief discussion of Chamorro identity may lead the reader to expect a succinct definition of "What is Chamorro?" I am personally opposed to the view that a concise definition can be given. Yet, the necessity of clarifying what is meant by Chamorro in the context of this discussion prevails. The subject of Chamorro identity is rife with controversy, especially when considered in relation to who should vote on political status and other similar concerns. This article has attempted to familiarize readers with the background needed to understand the various components of the identity question.

It is fair to say that there are as many definitions of Chamorro as there are individuals who choose to discuss the term.

I proceed with the assumption that contemporary Chamorros are the descendants of the indigenous inhabitants of the Marianas. Thus all residents of Guam are Guamanian, but not all Guamanians are Chamorro. One may argue that being Chamorro is equivalent to practicing the Chamorro way of life, speaking the Chamorro language, marrying into a Chamorro family and so forth. While these factors are integral to a discussion of the behavioral manifestations of cultural identity, they do not, in and of themselves, constitute Chamorro identity.

Being Chamorro is first and foremost being of Chamorro blood. For some this is a birthright. Many skeptics proclaim that the historical record invalidates such a contention. Chamorros do not deny that our racial mixture precludes a "purist" argument. Therefore, we do not speak in terms of actual percentage of bloodline as, for example, Hawaiians do. Nevertheless, the historical record does document that a persistent racial strain has survived to the present day. The practice of Chamorro traditions and the transmission of Chamorro values have been maintained in conjunction with this adaptive form of racial continuity despite the implementation of genocidal policies since contact.

NOTES

¹ For more detailed information of the history of Guam, see Charles Beardsley, *Guam Past and Present* (1964); Paul Carano and Pedro C. Sanchez, *A Complete History of Guam* (1964); Francisco Garcia, "First History of Guam" (translated from the Spanish and serialized in the *Guam Recorder*, 1936-1939); and Laura Thompson, *Guam and Its People* (1947).

² "Its Creation, Nanajuyong," *Guam U.S.A. Gateway to Micronesia* (Agana, Guam; Guam Visitors

Bureau, n.d.), p. 5. Other versions of this legend are available in various anthologies and history books on Guam. The basic components, however, are similar in all accounts. There is another legend of creation which attributes the origin of man to the work of the god of winds, waves and fire, Chaifi. This legend includes concepts such as hell or *sasalaguan* and man's soul, which indicate some Christian influences; hence the rationale for my selection.

³ Douglas Oliver, *The Pacific Islands* (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1961), p. 334.

⁴ Antonio Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage*, V. I. (translated and edited by R. A. Skelton; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969), p. 60.

⁵ Characteristics of the Natives of Guam when the First Settlement was Established by the Spanish," the *Guam Recorder* (January 1930), p. 188.

⁶ Jane H. Underwood, "Population History of Guam: Context of Microevolution," *Micronesica*, V. 9, N. 1 (July 1973), pp. 16-17.

⁷ Underwood, pp. 15, 20.

⁸ Paul Carano and Pedro C. Sanchez, *A Complete History of Guam* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1964), p. 86.

⁹ Carano and Sanchez, p. 175.

¹⁰ I disagree with the position Carano and Sanchez have taken in their dated work. Describing Guam's cultural evolution up to this point in its history, they stated:

Because Guam is isolated from the rest of the world by vast stretches of the Pacific Ocean, its history, at least until World War II, was one of physical and cultural stagnation. (p. 1)

This view perpetuates the notion that the significant aspects of our history are linked to Guam's strategic role in military operations.

¹¹ Carano and Sanchez, see pp. 267-318.

¹² Department of Commerce, *Guam Annual Economic Review 1981* (Agana, Guam: Government of Guam, August 1981), pp. 28-29.

¹³ Department of Commerce, p. 50.

¹⁴ Robert A. Underwood, "The Role of Mass Media in Small Pacific Societies: The Case of Guam," *Panorama the Guam Tribune* (Agana, Guam: V. 1, N. 47, Part II, August 26, 1983), pp. 12C-13C.

¹⁵ Robert A. Underwood, Part I, August 19, 1983, p. 5A.

¹⁶ Bureau of Planning, Government of Guam, *Guam Comprehensive Development Plan* (Agana, Guam: Government of Guam, 1978), pp. 71-72.

¹⁷ PARA is an acronym for People's Alliance for Responsible Alternatives. This group of concerned Chamorros organized to support cultural issues. PADA or People's Alliance for Democratic Action was formed in opposition to the Guam's Constitution prior to the public referendum. PARA-PADA have since merged as a strong Chamorro lobby.

Travel: Gateway to Intercultural Appreciation

C. H. Lowe
(駱傳華)

The Chinese have an old but simple saying: "If you wish to know the road ahead, ask some one who has traveled on it."

Travel opens one's eyes, and often one's mind as well. Now that mainland China has reopened her doors — permitting domestic and international travel — it may be relevant to recall that a number of her ancient adventurers and travelers had given her rich returns through cultural contacts and trade developments. A review of these traveling giants and their contributions might help light up the road ahead for China and the West.

As early as 138 B.C., Chang Chien (張騫), an official of the Han dynasty, was sent out by Emperor Han Wu-ti to seek help in subduing the Hsiung-nu or nomadic tribes of the New Dominion (Chinese Turkestan). Chang Chien traveled through the Tarim basin and the Pamir districts, and went as far west as Bactria in southwestern Asia. Although he was detained by the Hsiung-nu chiefs for ten years on his way westward and again held captive for two years on his return journey to China, he succeeded in fostering friendly relations with Afghanistan, the Pamirs,

and Parthia. He was indeed a pioneer in exploring possible trade routes from China to India and in opening communications between the Han capital of Chang-an and Rome, known to the Chinese as Ta Ch'ing at that time. From Rome, Chinese traders had brought back drugs, spices, pearls, coins, and jewels in exchange for silk, furs, iron, and other Chinese products.

In A.D. 399, Fa Hsien (法顯), a Shansi-born Buddhist priest who had first studied Buddhism in Chang-an, went to India by land and returned by sea around A.D. 416. He spent more than a decade studying Buddhism in several parts of India, and collecting many valuable sutras and religious relics. On his return journey, he also visited "the country of lions" (Ceylon, now called Sri Lanka) and Java. In his book of travel entitled *Fu Kuo Chi* (佛國記), Fa Hsien told about his exciting discoveries. And, he was perhaps the first Chinese to translate Buddhist sutras into Chinese.

Another Buddhist monk, Hsüan Chwang (玄奘), also known as Yuan Tsung (元宗), A.D. 600?-664, traveled to India from A.D. 629 to 645. Though a native of temperate Honan, Hsüan

Chwang successfully braved fierce sandstorms and snowstorms in his daring and dangerous trip to the land of Buddha. While in India, he visited several famous Buddhist sites, including Guatama Buddha's birthplace called Kapilavastu near Patna in Bihar province, and Nalanda where he lived and studied Sanskrit for five long years, and became closely associated with thousands of monks in the ancient academy and monastery there.

Hsüan Chwang brought back no less than 657 sacred books, several precious statues (including a golden statue of Buddha), and numerous religious relics. Upon his return to Chang-an in April, A.D. 645, he was warmly received by the Emperor and the populace. Son of an official, he shunned official posts, and devoted twenty years of his life to translating the Buddhist "rolls" he had acquired. His translations totaled fifty to sixty times the size of the Holy Bible. His "Accounts of the Western Regions" had enlightened countless Chinese and other followers of the Buddhist faith. When he died, the Emperor honored him with an official funeral procession, attended by over a million people, including 30,000 who chose to remain overnight at his cemetery.

As L. A. Granmer-Byng, the English editor of *Wisdom of the East*, commented in 1911: "It is difficult to overestimate [his] services to Buddhist literature. He returned to his own country with no less than 657 volumes of the sacred books, seventy-four of which he translated into Chinese, while 150 relics of the Buddha, borne by twenty horses, formed the spoil reverently gathered from the many lands we call India."¹

A fourth traveling giant hailed from the coastal province of Fukien: Wong Ta-yüan (汪大淵). A native of Nanchang,

Kiangsi province, Wong Ta-yüan was a self-trained sea adventurer and regarded by Chinese historians as a unique pioneer of Chinese navigation. At the age of 20-21 (A.D. 1330), he took his first overseas voyage from Chuanchow (泉州) without official encouragement, and spent no less than five years in exploring the neighboring countries, particularly the group of 48 Pescadores islands opposite Taiwan.

Here it must be noted that during the Sung dynasty (A.D. 960-1280), Fukien province had already developed frequent contacts with the outside world. The old sea port of Chuanchow, founded as early as A.D. 700 and located about 50 miles north of the better known city of Amoy, had become a thriving trade center with south-sea Asia, Indo-china, Malaysia, India, Ceylon, Arabia, and even the African coast. By the time of the Yuan dynasty (A.D. 1280-1368), Chuanchow, now called Tsinkiang (晉江), was recorded in official gazettes to have even outmatched Canton as China's most important sea port. It became one of the largest sites of China's ship-building industry; its population had grown to nearly 500,000, including a good-sized Arabian colony on the water front.

In A.D. 1337, Wong Ta-yüan wandered overseas again for three years to continue his study of the customs and living conditions of various "barbarian tribes." After his return to Chuanchow, he devoted many years to compiling a record of his experiences and findings, and produced a chronicle entitled *Dao I Chih Leüh* (島夷志略) around A.D. 1349.

About a century afterwards when Cheng Ho undertook his naval expeditions towards the Indian Ocean and

the Persian Gulf, he found Wong's treatise an invaluable travel guide!

Cheng Ho (鄭和), born in Yunnan province during the Ming dynasty and an eunuch at Yung Lo's court, undertook no less than seven naval expeditions to the South China seas, and thus gave his countrymen "new worlds" to think about. A robust Mohammedan, he had successfully suppressed a rebellion in his own province, and so Emperor Yung Lo made full use of the navigator's services and capability in several expeditions. Cheng Ho was sent to the Philippines, Brunei, Annam, Cambodia, Siam, Malacca, Java, Sumatra, and Ceylon (where he captured and brought the king back to China as a prisoner). Cheng made his final voyage in A.D. 1430-1434, and sailed as far as Ormuz in the Persian Gulf.

But Cheng Ho did more than just display China's military prowess in his travels in southern and western Asia. He was a spearhead in promoting commercial and cultural relations between China and the Arabian world. During his seventh naval expedition which took him to the Persian Gulf, he selected and sent seven of his interpreters and officers to visit Mecca. There his envoys made a careful survey and drew a large diagram of Islam's holy city, including the Great Mosque which housed the famous Kaaba (shrine or temple) and the sacred Black Stone. This Map of Heavenly Paradise they brought back to the Ming emperor, thus making a unique historic contribution towards the strengthening of relationships between the Chinese and the Muslims.

Of the numerous American and European travelers in China in the past, Marco Polo was probably the most widely publicized and, therefore, the

best known. But there were other successful bridge-builders who contributed richly to China's political and intellectual advancement. Let us review just a few of these vanguards of intercultural intercourse.

Of the early European travelers to China, perhaps William of Rubruquis (or Rubruck) deserves first mention in this cursory review. Born in Flanders around A.D. 1220, he was a Franciscan friar who had undertaken a 5,000-mile journey from Constantinople to Mongolia more than 730 years ago. Under the orders of Louis IX (A.D. 1214-1270), William of Rubruck first went to Turkey, and equipped with horses and carts the brave friar traveled to the court of the Great Khan at Caracorum (i.e. Karakorum).

During his sojourn in the Khan's capital, William of Rubruck collected a mass of information about Asian geography, culture, and religions. He also found a small European colony of artisans and captives, and was given permission to preach Christianity, as a result of which some 60 persons were baptized.

In May, 1255, he returned to Acre (Syria) safely and sent his report to King Louis. This report has often been acclaimed to be as high in rank as The Book of Marco Polo.²

About the middle of the sixteenth century when the Chinese, like multitudes of Europeans, still believed that the earth was a flat square, an Italian Jesuit priest and scientist, Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), traveled to China via India and settled in the Celestial Empire in 1583. After long waiting and patient negotiation, Ricci was allowed to establish his mission in Peking in 1601. His profound knowledge of Western science

and the Chinese language gradually won the admiration of Emperor Wan Li, and the strange gifts he brought to the Imperial family were unbelievable: Venetian prisms, clocks, sundials, engravings, paintings, maps, and even an organ. During his residence in China, Matteo Ricci and his associates translated into Chinese several European works on astronomy and mathematics, introduced new instruments in the Nanking and Peking observatories, helped revise the Chinese calendar, designed and produced a new world map called the Great Map of Ten Thousand Countries, and published more than 300 books on history, geography and religion — all of which convinced the Chinese that the world was indeed a globe, not a square.³

Matteo Ricci not only opened China's eyes to Western concepts and techniques but also through his letters and diaries enabled Europe to learn much about the "sealed" land of Cathay. Known to the Chinese as Li Ma-tou (利瑪竇), Ricci became one of the most respected foreign figures in Chinese history.

Subsequently, Johann Adam Schall (湯若望), 1591-1666, was also employed by the Manchu emperor, Chia Ching, in 1629 to reform the calendar and was made director of the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy in 1644. When the German astronomer died in Peking, he was given an official funeral. His associate and successor, Ferdinand Verbiest, wrote in 1661: "Schall has more influence upon the emperor than any viceroy, or than the most respected prince, and the name of Father Adam is better known in China than the name of any famous man in Europe."⁴

Ferdinand Verbiest, 1623-1688, also served as head of the Imperial Astronomi-

cal Bureau. He continued the revision of the Chinese calendar initiated by his predecessors, demonstrated the superiority of the Jesuit calendar in 1668, and was given back his position as director of the Peking Observatory during the reign of Emperor Kang Hsi.^{5,6}

Then there was the Milan artist-painter, Giuseppe Castiglione, A.D. 1688-1766, who went to Peking in 1715 and gained the friendship of three emperors (Kang Hsi, Yung Cheng, and Chien Lung), and helped open their eyes to foreign ideas and influences. Known to the Chinese as Lang Shih-ning (郎世寧), Castiglione introduced innovative painting techniques, and his exotic paintings aroused much curiosity, if not admiration, in China. Before he died in 1766, he also assisted Emperor Chien Lung in designing and building European-style palaces and pavilions (including a fantastic hydraulic fountain) in Yuen Ming Yuen outside the capital. And the construction, we were told, was prompted in no small degree by the pictures and gifts which the Jesuits had brought from the King of France, Louis XV. Interestingly enough, it was in the Yuen Ming Yuen gardens that the Imperial family and the court ladies were given the first chance in their lives to enjoy European music.

A hundred and twenty-five years ago, an American graduate of Harvard Law School and former Congressman named Anson Burlingame (蒲安臣), 1820-1870, was sent to China as the United States minister. He had to travel to the Far East by boat, and did not reach his post in Peking until July, 1862. A farsighted and patient diplomat, Anson Burlingame rejected the old die-hard view — then held by countless Westerners — that "the Chinese are conceited

barbarians and must be forced into our civilization." But "by his generous interest in their history and literature, his straight-forward manner, and admirable social and diplomatic qualities, he won their entire confidence — something which no other foreigner has ever done."⁷ He gradually gained the esteem and confidence of the Manchu Empire officials, so much so that upon his retirement in November, 1867, he was requested to head up the first Chinese diplomatic mission abroad. Accompanied by a Manchu official (Chih Kang 志剛) and a Chinese (Sun Chia-ku 孫家穀), Burlingame and his entourage left Shanghai in February the following year, and they were to visit and develop diplomatic relations with eleven Western countries, with the United States of America as the first stop in their itinerary. Unfortunately, the mission ended suddenly when Burlingame died of pneumonia in St. Petersburg in 1870.⁸

But it was Anson Burlingame "who first declared abroad the necessity of assisting China to find herself, and of elevating the diplomacy of Western Powers in Asia to something higher than securing for their traders the largest possible advantages in a secular struggle for profits. . . . In this sense, Mr. Burlingame can properly be called the father of the Open Door principle which Mr. Hay proposed."⁹

Speaking as head of the Chinese mission before the U.S. Congress in July, 1868, Mr. Burlingame declared, *inter alia*: "We seek for China that equality without which nations and men are degraded. We seek not only the good of China, but we seek your good and the good of all mankind. . . . We invite you to a broader trade. . . .

We invite you to a more intimate examination of the structure of Chinese civilization."¹⁰

Parenthetically, it should be noted here that Secretary of State John Hay crystalized and reasserted the Open Door doctrine — as first proposed by Anson Burlingame — in separate notes to England, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, and Japan on September 6, 1899, and requested them to apply the Open Door principle in their dealings with China.

Samuel Wells Williams (1812-1884) was another American who had served well as an apostle of international understanding. Born in Utica, New York, as the eldest of fourteen children in a printer-bookseller's family, he sailed for China in June, 1833, to help in a small mission press in Canton. He became a fervent student of Chinese history and literature, served as editor of the old *Chinese Repository*, wrote Chinese-language textbooks, compiled Chinese-English dictionaries, put out several editions of the *Chinese Commercial Guide* (first launched by John Robert Morrison in 1834), and in 1848 produced a two-volume history of China entitled *The Middle Kingdom*, which was a standard work for Western scholars and students for decades.¹¹

Williams also assisted his government and, particularly, the former U.S. minister William B. Reed, in negotiating the famous Treaty between the United States of America and the Manchu Empire, signed in Tientsin on June 18, 1858. In fact, he played an important role in getting an unprecedented article inserted in the treaty: i.e. Article XXIX which stipulated: "The principles of Christianity, as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches,

are recognized as teaching men to do good, and to do others as they would have others do to them. Hereafter, those who quietly profess and teach these doctrines shall not be harassed or persecuted on account of their faith. Any person, whether citizen of the United States or Chinese convert, who according to these tenets peaceably teach and practice the principles of Christianity, shall in no case be interfered with or molested."

Thus Mr. Williams re-introduced the Western concept of liberty of conscience in China and made a noteworthy contribution to the cause of human freedom.¹²

Here it may be added that another important article of the Sino-American Treaty of 1858 (Article XXV) had a great impact on the progress of intercultural intercourse. That article stipulated: "It shall be lawful for the officers or citizens of the United States to employ scholars and people of any part of China, without distinction of persons, to teach any of the languages of the empire, and to assist in literary labors; and the persons so employed shall not for any cause be subject to any injury on the part either of the government or of individuals; and *it shall in like manner be lawful for citizens of the United States to purchase all manners of books in China.*" (Italics mine).

Philadelphia-born William Woodville Rockhill (1854-1914) is another travel giant worth recalling here. While serving as a secretary in the U.S. legation in Peking in 1884 and 1885, he took time to study the Tibetan language with a lama tutor, and in 1888 he was able to realize his dream of visiting Lhasa after traveling 4,800 miles over uncharted

ice-lands, hot deserts and mountains as high as 16,000 feet above sea level. This dangerous journey from Peking to Lhasa took him eight months to complete. As a result of his explorations, he wrote two important books: 1. *The land of the Lamas; notes of a journey through China, Mongolia, and Tibet* published by the Century Co. of New York in 1891; and 2. *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892* published by the Smithsonian Institution in 1894.

Rockhill developed very close and warm relationships with many Mongolian and Tibetan leaders, and was asked to serve as an adviser to the Dalai Lama in 1905. When President Yuan Shih-kai plotted to become emperor of China, he too wanted W. W. Rockhill to be an adviser. The appointee, however, never fulfilled the assignment; he died on his way to China in 1914.

W. W. Rockhill was an adventurer, explorer, geographer, diplomat, and historian. His contributions to Sino-American understanding was well summarized by his biographer, Paul A. Varg, in these words: "In the diplomatic history of the United States, Rockhill ranks high among those who have played a part in formulating policy. From the time of writing of the Hay notes until he went to China as Minister in 1905, he wielded a greater influence in the implementation of the Far Eastern policy of the United States than any other man. His understanding of China contributed a great deal to establishing a tradition of friendship between the two countries."¹³

Less than a hundred fifty years ago, the bulk of the Chinese, particularly the secluded officials in the Forbidden City, had a very limited, if not obscure,

image of the West. To them, the Middle Kingdom was still — as they had thought for centuries past — the center of the world order. It was not until after they were badly defeated during the first Opium War of 1839-1842 that some of them began to acquire a clearer view of the outer world.

For in 1848, Hsu Chi-yü (徐繼畲) who could “neither eat nor sleep, trying to think of ways to help” his country, produced after years of research an unusual treatise known as *Ying Huan Chi Lueh* (瀛環志略), which gave a more realistic and up-to-date geography of the world than the Chinese had seen before.

Hsu Chi-yü, 1795-1873, was a well-educated and widely-traveled official who had served as governor of Fukien province. During his residence in the coastal province, he had met many Fukien merchants who had traveled to southeast Asia as well as Christian missionaries such as Dr. David Abeel, Dr. W. J. Boone, and George T. Lay (then stationed in Amoy) and had consequently learned much about the outside world from these contacts. He was told that the United States of America was then a union of 26 states, and that the founder of this union, George Washington, was “an extraordinary man,” indeed a hero!

By writing and publishing this new geography, Hsu Chi-yü, as Prof. Fred W. Drake remarked, “became Marco Polo, Columbus, Balboa, Tasman, Cook, and Bering for many Chinese readers of the 1850’s and 1860’s. And his book “opened new passages, described straits never before seen by Chinese, and introduced new lands and peoples.”¹⁴

Subsequently, *Ying Huan Chi Lueh* also attracted the attention of several

famous reformists such as Tseng Kuo-fan, Kang Yu-wei, and Liang Chi-chao, and the treatise became a part of the studies program in the Tung Wen Kuan (同文館), which was launched in 1862 under the direction of Dr. W. A. P. Martin to train Chinese specialists in Western affairs but was closed abruptly during the Boxer Uprising in 1900.

However, Hsu Chi-yü’s book on world geography had given his countrymen a wider vision of the globe and a new image of Western culture, thus further lighting up the road ahead for China.

At this point, it is perhaps quite pertinent to raise a question that should be asked but not often enough: How did Europe learn about China?

Although China was known to the ancient Greeks as Seres and to the Romans as Serica (the land of silk), and was called Sina at the time of King Ptolemy I (305-285 B.C.), she remained almost unknown to most of the Europeans until the 13th century. A brief chronological review of the major contacts between Europe and China will show how Europeans heard about the Middle Kingdom and gradually learned about her civilization.

1. B.C. 206-220 A.D. (Han dynasty): Chinese influence extended to Central Asia; traceable commercial traffic took place between China and Rome (then known as Ta Ts’ing).
2. A.D. 91-97: Pan Chao (班超) conquered Hsi Yueh and was made viceroy of the entire Western Region. In 97 A.D. he led his army as far west as Antiochia (now called Antakya in Turkey). He sent Kan Ying (甘英) on a diplomatic mission to Rome, but after reaching the

- Persian Gulf the envoy, fearing the sea voyage, returned in disgrace.
3. A.D. 1253: William of Rubruck (or Rubrouck), c.1215-1270, a Franciscan friar, traveled to the Great Khan's court near Karakorum, Mongolia, about the end of 1253 and stayed there until the following July. His narrative was first disclosed in the Hakluyt Society's publications in 1598-1599.
 4. A.D. 1269: Maffeo and Nicolo Polo returned from China with a letter from Kublai Khan asking the Pope for 100 missionaries, but only two could be found to go and they never reached China.
 5. A.D. 1271-1292: Marco Polo accompanied his father and uncle on long journey to China, met Kublai Khan in 1275, and was given various important government posts in the Yuan empire. Upon his return to Venice, he wrote *The Book of Marco Polo*, which greatly revived European interest in China.
 6. A.D. 1294: Giovanni di Monte Corvino (or John of Montecorvino), c.1247-1328, arrived in the land of Kublai Khan and was given permission to build a church in "Cambalieh" (Peking). The Franciscan's efforts were so successful that he was later made Archbishop of the community of several thousand converts in the Yuan capital.
 7. A.D. 1375: The Catalan Atlas included China and the outskirts of Asia; one of the earliest European maps that showed China, with information given in Marco Polo's writings.
 8. A.D. 1569: First European (missionary) book on China published in Portugal: entitled *Tractado em que contam suito por estenso as Cousas da China*, Evora, 1569, and authored by Gaspar da Cruz who visited Macau and Canton for a few months.
 9. A.D. 1583: Matteo Ricci, 1552-1610, arrived in China. Known to the Chinese as Li Ma-t'ou, Ricci was not only a Jesuit missionary but also a scientist, cultural ambassador, and possessed with unusual linguistic and personal qualifications, he became a highly respected figure in Chinese history and literature.
 10. A.D. 1585: Juan Gonzales de Mendoça's *Historia de las cosas mas notables, ritos, y costumbres del gran rey de la China* published in Rome. Although Mendoça had probably never been in China, he learned much of what he knew from the Augustinian and Franciscan priests who had traveled and worked in the Middle Kingdom. An English translation, made by Robert Parke at the suggestion of Richard Hakluyt, British geographer, was published in London, 1588-1589.
 11. A.D. 1615: Nicolas Trigault, 1577-1628, translated Ricci's memoirs into Latin and published *De christiana expeditione apud Sinas* in Amsterdam. "Trigault's book was the first really significant contribution to Sinophile literature."¹⁵
 12. A.D. 1651: Martinus Martini, 1614-1661, Jesuit missionary and geographer compiled and published the first scientific maps of China, *Novus Atlas Sinensis*, in Amsterdam (1651-1655).
 13. A.D. 1683: Prospero Intorcetta and Jesuit colleagues published *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* in Paris — one of the earliest Western

studies of Confucianism.

14. A.D. 1699: German philosopher and mathematician, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716) published *Novissima Sinica* and was regarded as "the first great European Sino-ophile."
15. A.D. 1735: Father J. B. Du Halde published *Description géographique, historique, chronologique et physique de l'empire de Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise*. 4 vols., Paris. Translated into English and published in London the following year.
16. A.D. 1793: Lord Macartney reached Peking to serve as the first British diplomatic representative in China. He agreed to kneel on one knee before he was received by Emperor Ch'ien Lung, but actually knelt on both knees during the imperial audience. "For this self-conceit, China paid dearly ever since."¹⁶
17. A.D. 1807: Dr. Robert Morrison, first Protestant missionary, arrived in Canton.
18. A.D. 1823: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland founded in London and began publishing its *Journal* around 1834, signifying growing British interest in Asian studies.
19. A.D. 1841: Joseph Henri de Premare published his *Notitia linguae sinicae*, by the Anglo-Chinese Academy in Malacca. Perhaps this was the first book on Chinese language and grammar ever written for use by Europeans.
20. A.D. 1842: William W. Mosely wrote *The origin of the first Protestant mission to China*, and reported therein the translation of the Holy Scriptures into Chinese, Simpkin and Marshall, London, 1842.
21. A.D. 1842: Defeated in the first

Opium War, China signed the Treaty of Nanking and amongst her losses she ceded Hong Kong to Great Britain.

After hearing or reading about the activities of the traveling giants mentioned above, one cannot but admire their courage, resourcefulness, perseverance, and GREATNESS. These pioneers in intercultural understanding had gone through and surmounted incredible hardships and frustrations, including persecution and occasional imprisonment. But their super-human efforts helped advance and improve the relations between the East and the West.

Since the 13th century, particularly during the Ming and Ching dynasties, these cultural spearheads from Europe had served in China not merely as political emissaries and religious missionaries but also as specialists, if not experts, in arts, architecture, cartography, education, engineering, gardening and landscaping, music and musical instruments, painting, literature and linguistics, book making and publishing. Their presence and sojourn in China not only enriched Chinese culture but through their reports and writings they made Europe increasingly aware of the merits of Chinese civilization. They went to China primarily to set up diplomatic relations or teach religions, but they also introduced the teachings of Confucianism, Lamaism and Taoism into their own countries. Had Father Joseph Henri de Premare never visited the land of Kublai Khan where he learned to appreciate Yuan drama and subsequently translated "The Orphan of the House of Chao." Voltaire might not have thought of producing his successful "L'Orphelin de la Chine" in 1755.

In short, the traveling giants had aroused widespread European interest in Chinese studies beginning from the 13th century and were largely responsible for the growth of sinology in the 17th and 18th centuries.

In the concluding paragraph of *Generation of Giants*, Father George H. Dunne wrote these words about the Jesuits in 16th-century China: "By their readiness to put aside European prejudices, by their adaptability, their innocence of snobbery and smugness, their alertness to discover the good and reluctance to note the bad, by the

sympathy and understanding they brought to their contacts, they pointed the way, and their example still points the way, to cultural rapprochement between the peoples of the world. They deserved to be held in honor not only by the Roman Catholic Church and by China, which has never had better friends, but by everyone who agrees with the Chinese proverb that "within the four seas all men are brothers."

May all future travelers bear this thought in mind wherever they go, and help bring about a world of peace and friendship.

NOTES

- ¹ Hui-li, *The life of Hiuen-Tsiang* (London, Kegan Paul, 1911), p. xiv.
- ² Rubruck, William of. *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World in 1253-55*, as narrated by himself. Trans. W. W. Rockhill (London: Hakluyt Society, 1900). Includes map of the route taken and itinerary from May 7, 1253 to August 15, 1255.
- ³ Vincent Cronin, *The Wise Man from the West* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1955). Chapters 1 and 9. See also the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), V. 12, pp. 470-472.
- ⁴ *New Catholic Encyclopedia*. V. 12, p. 1120.
- ⁵ *Ibid.* V. 14, p. 609.
- ⁶ Nicholas Trigault. *The China That Was* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1942).
- ⁷ Russell H. Conwell, *Why and How: Why the Chinese Emigrate, and the Means They Adopt for the Purpose of Reaching America* (Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1871), pp. 106-107.
- ⁸ Li Ung Bing, *Outlines of Chinese History* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1914), p. 547.
- ⁹ Frederick Wells Williams, *Anson Burlingame, and the First Chinese Mission to Foreign Powers* (New York: Scribner's, 1912), pp. vii-viii.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 131.
- ¹¹ After his return from China, Samuel Wells Williams served as professor of Chinese language and literature at Yale University, and produced a revised and enlarged edition of *The Middle Kingdom* in 1883.
- ¹² Christianity was introduced into China as early as the 7th century when the first Nestorian missionaries went there in 631. Four years later (635), the Syrian priest, Olopun (also called Alopen) visited Emperor Tai Tsung in the capital, Chang-an, and was granted permission to build a church, as verified by the famous Nestorian Monument erected in February, 781, and discovered about 50 miles southwest of the city (now called Sian) in 1625.
- ¹³ Paul A. Varg, *Open Door Diplomat: The Life of W. W. Rockhill* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952), p. 130.
- ¹⁴ Fred W. Drake, *China Charts the World: Hsu Chi-yü and His Geography of 1848* (Cambridge,

Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), p. 189.

¹⁵ A. H. Rowbotham, *Missionary and Mandarin* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942), p. 246.

¹⁶ Li Ung Bing, *Outlines of Chinese History* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1914), p. 464.

An Argument Over Eating Watermelon

Albert A. Azarmi

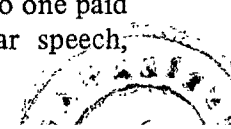
To the Middle Easterners, summer and watermelon have a harmony — one cannot exist without the other. Whether it is caused by the summer heat, or has an unknown origin, it is a tradition which goes back as far as early civilization. Herodotus, too, mentions it, when he describes the life in Persia.

To us children — the by-products of that tradition — watermelon was always a symbol of hot summer afternoons and the enjoyment of eating so much of it after each siesta. Of course by “watermelon” I don’t mean any kind of melon, but the red, juicy ones. And to select that type of melon was not anyone’s profession: it was an art that required strong muscles for pressing the melon and familiarity with its strange sound. For that reason only my father, and no one else, purchased watermelon in our family. But, then, the watermelons he brought home were not always red and juicy. One sort of wondered, too, since Father claimed to be the world authority when it came to judging a watermelon. That was a shame, for every now and then my maternal uncle would state, “You can’t expect a heavenly watermelon when you steal it from a poor man’s farm.” And nobody but Father would believe him, even though he would pretend to be accused by an

unappreciative, sarcastic, bastard. However, that seemed to be beside the point. Whether Father stole it or bought it, or it was given him by someone, the watermelon always had to arrive before noon, so that it could be kept in our water well for a few hours, before being ceremoniously sacrificed in cold blood.

It was on one of the usual hot summer afternoons, after a long nap, when the watermelon ceremony was to take place. The melon was fetched out of the well. The large tray, the butcher knife, and the plates were all prepared for my father to perform the slaughtering. And indeed, he did it so gracefully. Mother helped him in passing all the slices, and everyone ate more than he was supposed to. When watermelon turned into an orphan skin, the stomachs became swollen too. To belch seemed an honor and pleasure, in the requiem for an old, once-sweet-red watermelon.

True to the nature of man — since the beginning of civilization — when his stomach is overfilled, for comfort he turned to philosophy. So, my father, too, in accordance with human nature, loosened the first three or four buttons of his trousers. Then with an introductory belch he said to the air, “That’s what I would like to call freedom.” No one paid much attention to his familiar speech;



and that made him make more speech as he continued, "So long as Allah gives us rain and sunshine, we put our arms to work and grow watermelons and enjoy every piece of them. If you don't call this a freedom, I just can't see what else you could call it."

My pessimistic maternal uncle, a young, jobless, university graduate, pressed his index finger against his forehead and prepared himself to come out with an opposing answer.

"I don't feel any freedom in eating a few slices of watermelon," he said and nearly spoiled the freedom for my father. "Freedom, to me," he continued, "is being able to walk through any country's border without being asked where in the world I've come from." For some time my uncle had been trying to leave the country. But the government would not issue him a passport, since he was an active member of an opposition political party. And my father knew the fact perfectly well. "Selfish bastards like you, who don't appreciate freedom," my father said, "go on and cause famine and devastation. Why would you want to pass through any border without a passport when you are so ungrateful and hungry?" Having rasped so victoriously, Father became angry, and it was obvious that sooner or later he would complain of indigestion and sour mouth.

"I still can't see getting so emotional over a bloody watermelon when at the same time you must show a hundred pages of identification before being allowed to cross any border," my uncle continued, tormenting my poor watermelon-lover father.

"To begin with," Father retaliated, "I don't see any connection between watermelon and passing through a country's border. And secondly, I see no

reason wasting my wisdom over a blasphemous liberal." Since there was no immediate response, he paused a little and then thought of more wisdom to waste over my uncle. "You don't even pay for the melon. What if you had to bring your own?" Still there was no response. Mother at this time ventured to end the argument by offering my father a cup of tea with dried lime and raisin. But Father motioned her to stand aside, as he continued, "That's what I can't understand: you prove your generosity by offering a fellow a few slices of watermelon, and right away he wants to travel all over the world without any passport."

You thought my uncle would get angry — that was a dream. He was such an artist when it came to being an apathetic person. Only a few people knew about his high potential of apathy: Father was one of them, and the fact of it was killing my father.

"Come to think of it," my uncle spoke at last, "I don't see any relation between free, stolen watermelon, and freedom, either." He must have touched the weak spot of my father by that remark.

"Nobody stole the watermelon, you, apathetic bastard! I found the free watermelon lying free by the free road, in the Allah's free world. Is there any law against bringing it home?" Father asked as he began to suffer from indigestion.

Father reached for his tea, as he faced my mother but meaning to tear my radical uncle to pieces; and for once and all gave his decision, "I don't allow any cheap liberal, who's got no business but to give people indigestion, to take the liberty of eating watermelon with me, in my home, any day of the year." Then he paused and rubbed his stomach, adding, "This damned watermelon is sure giving me hell."

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Cover: A scene from Seami's *Noh* Yugao. See I-chün Wang's article on *Mugen Noh* on pp. 1-6.

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Mugen Noh

I-chün Wang

(王儀君)

In a dream-lull our lives are passed;
All, all that round us lies
Is visionary, void.

Kanami

The Noh drama, which was completely developed during the Japanese Medieval period, is the Japanese literary genre which makes most use of the dream motif. The Noh master, Seami Mototsugu, deliberately emphasized a dreamlike and unrealistic atmosphere as well as the *yugen* style,¹ thereby transporting the Noh drama into a refined and religious dream world. The contrasts between the real and the unreal, the present and the past, were made even more striking when combined with the introduction of the ghost figure. This type of Noh plays was categorized by later critics as an independent genre, namely, the Mugen Noh, in contrast with Genzai Noh, which tends to stress the present and realistic subject matter.

The definition of Mugen Noh may be found in some reference books, although few critics have discussed its structure. According to *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* (*Anthology of Japanese Classical Literature*), one of the most authoritative reference guides, the plot of Mugen Noh plays usually develops under the presumption:

That a traveller visits some famous place. An inhabitant of the area comes along. The traveller asks to be told the story associated with the place. The inhabitant complies. At the end of the story he says that in actuality it is he who is the hero of the famous legend associated with the place. Then he disappears, and reappears with the form in the legend retelling the story about himself with gestures and dances. At dawn he disappears leaving the traveller in amazement that the whole event has been a dream only.²

This structure indicates the reason why the plays following this formula are called "mugen," which literally means a dream or a dream world. Kanai Kiyomitsu, in his essay, "Mugen Noh no Saikento" (*A Reconsideration on Mugen Noh*), has provided the reason why the plays involved with the unrealistic and with supernatural beings are categorized as Mugen Noh: "In the human world, people tend to interpret everything according to reasonable facts. The unrealistic ghost world or the metamorphoses and transformation of the spirits are beyond the comprehension

of human beings. Therefore, people attribute these to the dream visions or hallucinations. In the Noh plays, moreover, because of the interweaving of the past and present by means of the appearance and disappearance of the ghosts, to the audience, therefore, there is indeed a touch of the dream atmosphere."³

The most representative Mugen Noh can be found in Seami's plays like "Atsumori," "Tsunemasa," "Kagekiyo" and "Aya No Tsujami." As a matter of fact, however, the mugen tradition had already taken roots before Seami, since Seami's father Kanami, had already shown his preference of dream techniques in his outstanding masterpieces like "Sotoba Komachi" and "Matsukaze." Later Noh playwrights who succeeded to the tradition worked out many interesting plays like "Benkei on the Bride," "Atsumori" (by Senchiku Ujinobu) and (Sumidagawa). These plays have survived because of their artistic and classical tone as well as their typical yugen style. Following is a interpretation of Mugen Noh in terms of structure and dream motif as presented in these representative plays.

Matsukaze, a play written by Kanami and reworked by Seami, is generally considered as one of the most successful in appealing to "the feeling of exquisite solitude and melancholy."⁴ The play is based on the story of two sisters, Matsukaze and Murasame, who both fall in love with the exiled poet Yukihiro. Unfortunately, they are later informed that Yukihiro died soon, after returning to the capital, and his promise of returning to Suma Bay has become their illusion. Matsukaze, because of anguish in waiting, turns insane. The presentation of this play on stage fits exactly the

standard structure of Mugen Noh: A priest travelling to Suma Bay is attracted by a solitary pine tree on the beach and makes inquiries to satisfy his curiosity. From the villagers he learns that the pine tree is in memory of two legendary girls. Later he finds that there are two girls among the villagers whose appearance and attire are no different from that of ordinary women except that they seem loaded with melancholy. He approaches them, asks for one night's lodging and inquires about the solitary pine tree. At this point the girls start to weep, seeming greatly distressed:

Matsukaze and Murasame:

Truly, when a grief is hidden,
Still, signs of it will show.
His poem, "If ever anyone chances
to ask for me."
Filled us with memories which are
too fond.
Tears of attachment to the world
Wet our sleeves once again.

Priest:

Tears of attachment to the world?
You speak as though you are no longer
of the world? . . .⁵

Then the two girls reveal the fact that they are actually the ghosts of the two legendary fishergirls and a more detailed story concerning their relationship with the exiled poet Yukihiro is disclosed. While narrating her inner feelings with dances and gestures, however, Matsukaze shows her insanity. Since the conventions of a Noh play require that it must end with justification and pacification, in *Matsukaze*, the ghost is pacified. The dream motif is reflected through dances and mimics and through the chorus, who not only summarize the major events of the story but also present the dreamlike atmosphere. That which

stands out for the audience is the melancholy tone and dream/waking experience:

Madly the gale howls through the pines,
And breakers crash in Suma Bay;
Through the frenzied night
We have come to you,
In a dream of deluded passion.
Pray for us. Pray for our rest . . .
Your dream is over. Day has come.
Last night you heard the autumn rain?
This morning all that is left
Is the wind in the pine.

(Keene, p. 32)

Like *Matsukaze* most other plays of the Mugen genre are adapted from well-known legends; war tales, love stories, mysterious legends, and philosophical approaches to the meanings of human life all become the focus of the attention of Noh playwrights.

Another play depicting the love theme and dream-waking motif even more successfully is *The Brocade Tree*, another masterpiece of Seami. It concerns a custom of the district Ebisu. When a man intends to propose to a girl, he has to "decorate a stick about a foot long with different colors and set it in the ground before the girl's gate. If the girl wishes to meet him, she immediately takes it into her house. If she is slow to do so, the suitor plants more."⁶ "The Brocade Tree" is developed around this central motif. The structure of the play is that of a standard Mugen Noh: A priest traveling with companions arrives at a place called Shinobu-yama, and encounters two villagers who appear like man and wife, the woman carrying a piece of cloth that seems to be woven of feathers and the man, a stick richly adorned and beautifully colored. The priest seems

so interested that he asks about the background of the cloth and the stick. The two villagers reply that the two objects are actually the tokens of mortal love, and narrate a story about a certain suitor who makes brocade trees as go-between. Just after the story-telling, however, the two vanish, and the priest has to ask other villagers about his strange vision. Then a romantic story is disclosed:

In ancient times there was a man who placed them (the brocade trees) before the gate of his beloved's house. When after three years she still had not taken them inside, he died. Then the woman hearing that he had died because of her also died. They were buried together . . . and their grave is called the Brocade Mound.⁷

After promising to pray for the souls of the two lovers, the priest lies down under the pine trees to say prayers. And the two villagers reappear and reveal their identities; however, they seem not to have any intention to awake the priest, who is sound asleep.

Woman:

How closely, then, we must be linked,
To meet like this at the grassy pillow
Where you lie. Yet you do not waken
From your holy, wonderful dream . . .

Man:

A dream, and now within a dream
Tonight by chance we met.
Three years that passed,
Recovered now by our meeting.

(Keene, p. 93)

But the priest awakens by himself and urges them to "revive the ancient days," and "to know existence from a dream." (p. 93). Therefore, in songs, dances and gestures, they portray past happenings,

and again they suddenly vanish like a dream leaving the priest alone wondering about the two mysterious persons:

Woman and Man:
 We were but people of your dreams
 While you slept. Now waking
 The brocade tree and the narrow cloth
 Vanish with the dream
 And leave the murmur of a wind
 Drifting through the pines.
 And in the morning light —
 A grave among the fields. (p. 96)

As we have perceived from the two plays discussed above, the characteristics of Mugen Noh plays lie not only in the subject matter, the presentation of the contrasts between dream and reality, but also in the fact that the central theme is revealed through the hero or heroine in the legend. Therefore, the appearance of ghosts, gods or even the spirits of plants forms one of the most significant elements in Mugen Noh. They accordingly transform themselves into ordinary human beings and talk with the traveller, who can be a priest, a workman in the fields or an exiled officer. They tend to appear in a legendary place, in remote mountains or on the seashore. All of these elements combined together provide the audience and readers with something intangible, just like a dream. Furthermore, the story-telling and dances portraying the essence of the play are usually considered as the most attractive part.

The same structure and presentation of the dream motif can be found in "The Deserted Crone," "The Shrine in the Fields," and "The Priest and the Willow," of which "The Deserted Crone" seems to be outstanding because of its moral justification. It is pointed out by Sanari Kentaro, editor of the

great collection of Noh plays, *Yokyoku Taikan*, as a play closest to the apex of Seami's yugen.⁹

"The Deserted Crone" is a story about an old woman who has been abandoned in the deep mountains by her nephew and his wife. "Dressed in white robes, she dances a quiet dance in a landscape brightly lit by the moon. She utters hardly a word of complaint but is resigned to the world."⁸ The dream motif manifests itself when a travelling priest accidentally encounters the old woman in white robe:

Strange,
 In this moonlit night already grown
 so late
 A woman robed in white appears —
 Do I dream? Is it reality . . .
 Waking, sleeping, among flowers,
 The dew clinging to our sleeves.

When the chorus sings for the old woman, the dream-like atmosphere becomes even stronger, leaving the readers and audience pondering about the deserted crone:

Ah, well, this world is all a dream.
 Best I speak not, think not.
 But in these grasses of remembrance
 Delight in flowers, steep my heart
 in the moon.

(p. 124)

Different people give different interpretations of human life; in Mugen Noh plays, however, most characters compare their lives to dreams although from different perspectives. To Muyasudkoro, the heroine in "The Shrine in the Fields," and also the lover of Prince Genji, the whole world turns to dreams and to aging ruins because she is left alone.¹⁰ To Atsumori, the great warrior of the Taira clan, time and generations pass like the "space

of a dream.”¹¹ In another play, Atsumori the warrior, after looking back to his past and the unceasing fight and struggle between the Taira and Minamoto clans, affirms that “Beauty, perception, knowledge, motion, consciousness – The Five Attributes of Being – all are vain mockery.”¹² He invokes the spirit of a willow tree, belonging to the dreamworld and memorable past:

I feebly dance,
A figure in your dream,
Though to you I may seem real.¹³

The contrasts between dream and reality remains a significant element as long as the tradition of Mugen Noh prevails. Another brilliant example can be found in “Kanehira,” which was again adapted from *Heikei Monogatari*. In a scene when the ghost of Kanehira appears before the priest, the priest cannot help wondering whether he is dreaming, but Kanehira replies: “You think what you see now is a dream? You have already seen me in reality. Have you forgotten we met and talked in my boat?”¹⁴ The contrasts between dream and reality, the past and the present are even further emphasized through the chorus:

“How quickly we come and go,
Along the crossroads of life and death,
Dream, fantasies, bubbles, shadows,
Which one lasts the longest?

(p. 267)

In one of the most famous plays, “Tsunemasa,” the priest questions himself: “How strange: When the form of Tsunemasa had vanished, his voice still lingered and spoke to me. Am I dreaming or waking? I cannot tell.”¹⁵

Another play worth mentioning is “Kantan,” which is usually attributed to Seami but as a matter of fact is adapted from the T’ang short story, “The Tale of A Pillow,” which is written by Li Pi, and the subject matter of which is also that of T’ang Hsien-Tzu’s *Han-Tan Chi*. Compared with the latter, this Japanese Noh play “Kantan” is condensed and compact, appropriate for the standard structure of Noh drama. Since in this Mugen Noh play, the protagonist, Rosei, seems to have already been enlightened, he claims in the very beginning that “I who came out to learn the secret of life may taste the world in a dream.” This situation is totally different from that in *Han-Tan Chi*, in which the protagonist Lu Seng is at first a person eager for fame and wealth but after achieving enlightenment through a pillow dream becomes devoted to the way of salvation and eternal life.

The later Noh master, Zembo Motoyosu (1453-1532), succeeding to Seami, reinvigorated the dream tradition on Noh theater. In the present century, the prolific and talented writer Yukio Mishima¹⁷ recreated the dream world of “Kantan” with his particular modern language and style.

NOTES

¹ Yugen literally means mystery and depth, which is also traditionally considered as the aesthetic ideal of Japanese poetry. Seami has his own interpretations of yugen, which generally means graceful attire, pleasant melody and elegant movement of the performer. See *The Collection*

of the *Essays on Noh Music (Yu Kyiuku Shu)* by Seami (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1956), pp. 399-409. In Masaru Sekine's *Zeami and His Theories of Noh Drama*, yugen was defined as: "elegance and sophistication." The author continues, "Zeami's use of it changed as he grew old; first he referred to the elegance and grace of an aristocrat and his behavior, and then to transcendental beauty, mystery and depth." See Masaru Sekine, *Zeami and His Theories of Noh Drama* (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1985), p. 169.

- ² Frank Hoff and Willi Flight, *The Life Structure of Noh* (London, 1976), p. 214. This translation is by Frank Hoff.
- ³ Kiyomitsu Kanai *No no Kenkyio* (Tokyo, 1972), p. 182.
- ⁴ Donald Keene, "Introduction to Matsukaze," *Twenty Plays of the No Theater* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1970), p. 18.
- ⁵ Keene, p. 27.
- ⁶ Keene, p. 81. "Introduction."
- ⁷ Keene, p. 90. Text.
- ⁸ Keene, p. 115. "Introduction."
- ⁹ Keene, "Introduction."
- ¹⁰ Keene, 179.
- ¹¹ Arthur Waley, *The No Plays of Japan* (London, 1954), p. 70.
- ¹² Waley, p. 76. The play is entitled "Ikuta."
- ¹³ Keene, "The Priest and the Willow" (Yugyo Yanagi), p. 219.
- ¹⁴ Keene, "Kanehira," p. 266.
- ¹⁵ Waley, "Tsunemasa," p. 83.
- ¹⁶ Edward Putzar, *Japanese Literature* (Tucson: Univ. of Arizona Press, 1973), p. 100.
- ¹⁷ Yukio Mishima, *Five Modern No Plays* (New York: Vintage Book, 1973).

Celestials and Commoners: Exiles in Pai Hsien-yung's Stories

Joseph S. M. Lau
(劉紹銘)

Before Pai Hsien-yung's 白先勇 (1937–) first exile story "Death in Chicago" ("Chih-chia-ko chih-ssu") 芝加哥之死 appeared in *Modern Literature* (*Hsien-tai wen-hsüeh*) 現代文學 in 1964, he had some six years of writing experience behind him. His first story "The Elder Mrs. Chin" ("Chin ta-nai-nai") 金大奶奶 was published in 1958 when he was a freshman at National Taiwan University. From 1958 to 1962 he had written, under various pseudonyms, a total of twelve stories.¹ The last one, significantly enough, was titled "Graduation" ("Pi-yeh") 畢業. Sensitive, perceptive, and occasionally brilliant as they are ("Jade Love" ["Yü-ching sao"] 玉卿嫂, for instance), this group of stories, limited perhaps by age and experience, seldom transcends the level of the author's adolescent reminiscences.

The breakthrough came in 1963 when Pai Hsien-yung arrived in the United States to work toward the Master of Fine Arts degree at the University of Iowa. And his writings since then have taken a dramatic turn. Gone are the "Lonely Seventeens" ("Chi-mo-ti shih-ch'i-sui") 寂寞的十七歲 from his stage. Not only have his characters aged and matured considerably, what is more important is that, unlike his early creations, they are

the characters so intimately related to the tragedy and social turmoil of his own time that they are indeed part of the history of modern China. True, to some extent they are just as self-obsessed as Pai Hsien-yung's early adolescents; the difference is that the self in the later stories is no longer the autobiographical hero but the collective consciousness of Chinese exiles in general.

Since Pai Hsien-yung's early tales up to 1961 have already been discussed by C. T. Hsia in his illuminating essay, and since I have elsewhere dealt with his major stories in the *Taipei jen* 台北人 collection,² what I would like to do in this paper is to consider another group of his works that reveal a new dimension in Pai's talent for his observation of Chinese expatriates' experience in America. There are only six stories in Pai Hsien-yung's American series, as against fourteen in *Taipei jen*. Of these six, only two have been placed under the serial heading "New Yorkers" ("Niu-yüeh k'e") 紐約客 by the author; they are "Li T'ung: A Chinese Girl in New York" ("Che-hsien chi," 謫仙記 1965) and "The Grievances of a Celestial in Mundane Exile" ("Che-hsien yüan 謫仙怨," 1969). But in view of the fact that these six stories have a common theme, they can all be collectively

considered as "The New Yorkers."³

Like *Taipei jen*, the first New Yorker story is prefaced by an epigraphical poem, this time a poem by Ch'en Tzu-ang 陳子昂 (661-702):

登幽州臺歌

Song on Climbing Yu-chou Terrace

Behind me I do not see the ancient men
before me I do not see the ones to come.
Thinking of the endlessness of heaven
and earth,
alone in despair, my tears fall down.⁴

That Pai Hsien-yung should have chosen Ch'en Tzu-ang's words to describe the mood of his New Yorkers is not hard to understand. As exiles in America, they have left behind them the old (Nationalist) and the new (Communist) Chinas. Before them, they see nothing but a darkling plain of uncertainties. And herein lies the most vital difference between the *Taipei jen* and the New Yorkers. As refugees, the mainlanders in Taiwan are exiles mostly in the political sense of the word. To the Kweilin *jen*, Taiwan's Mount Ah-li and Sun-Moon Lake may not be much of a comparison to the famed Yang-shuo scenery, but at least they are part of China's scenery. If Taiwan's Shao-hsing wine is only a cheap imitation of *hua-tiao* 花雕, one could go for the genuine Chin-men *kao-liang* 金門高粱, provided one has the stomach for it. But to the Chinese refugees in Taiwan, what is not essential to their lives is perhaps not so much its accessibility to traditional Chinese creature comforts as the context it furnishes them for maintaining their identities. To such *Taipei jen* as Liang P'u-yüan 梁樸園 and Lan T'ien-yü 藍田玉, the honorific *chang-kuan* 長官 or *fu-jen* 副官 may no longer carry as much meaning as they

used to on the mainland; they are their titles nevertheless. What is more important, these are the kind of titles that can be understood by pedestrians and taxicab drivers in Taiwan. Taiwan, more than they would want to admit, is not only the second home for the *Taipei jen* for the time being, but literally also their cultural womb. Though they do not see very much before them, at least they can recollect a great deal of what has been left behind.

For the New Yorkers, it is a different story. Their fate has been accurately cast by Yü Kuang-chung in an editorial preface to the special issue of *Modern Literature* on Pai Hsien-yung as thus:

Generally, commentators on Pai Hsien-yung are apt to relate his works to *Dream of the Red Chamber*. In point of themes, language, or even biographical background, such an association is almost inevitable. The biggest difference is: in his stories, the Chia Pao-yü of the mid-twentieth century has already walked out from the dilapidated and weed-tangled Takuanyüan and would never be able to return. He no longer has the helping hands of the Taoist priest and the Buddhist monk on his sides. He has nothing to look forward to except for the long years of solitude in the New Continent.⁵

In the context of Pai Hsien-yung's stories, the Takuanyüan 大觀園, though dilapidated and even haunted, is nevertheless a Chinese sanctuary. Once outside this sanctuary, his Chia Pao-yü 賈寶玉 have all but lost themselves in a place where its people would have difficulty pronouncing their names. Such is the kind of embarrassment and humiliation Wu Han-hun 吳漢魂 ran into in "Death in Chicago."

The story opens with Wu busily preparing for a curriculum vitae. He has

just earned his degree and is looking for a job. But after he has put down "Wu Han-hun, Chinese, age 32, Ph.D. in English, the University of Chicago; date degree earned: June 1, 1960; . . ." he does not know how to continue. His mind goes blank. He remembers, however, during one of those evenings when he was preparing for his preliminary examinations, a telegram came from his uncle informing him that his mother had passed away. He had stared at the telegram for a long while before rolling it into a ball and stuffing it into a corner of his drawers. On his desk had been lying a volume of T. S. Eliot's poems and he was reading aloud to himself the first few lines from "The Waste Land."

A letter arrived from his uncle the day before the examinations, but he did not open it. Again, he stuffed it into his drawer.

On the surface, the New Yorker in Wu Han-hun indeed looks "hardboiled." But that is only on the surface. Like so many Chinese students from Taiwan, Wu came to the United States for advanced studies not so much for his own sake as for honoring his family. Before her death, Mrs. Wu left instructions that her son not be informed of her sickness because she would not want him to be disturbed during his examination period. By ignoring his uncle's letter, he did what his mother would have wanted done.

The death of his mother, however, has robbed him of his purpose in life. No longer a student with a rigid hour-by-hour daily schedule to follow, Wu finds himself unable to deal with those unscheduled hours now freely at his disposal. The piles of books, which have been his constant companions and on which he has spent six years of his youth, suddenly looked like "carcasses reeking of nose-penetrating

stench".⁶

Finding his basement room insufferable, he puts on his jacket and rushes out to the street. Strolling mindlessly, he stops at a bar and orders the only drink he knows by name: Scotch and soda. Before long, a woman sits uninvited beside him:

"My name is Laura. They simply call me Lulu. It's up to you." Laura said, smiling. "What's your name?"

"Wu Han-hun."

"Wu. . ." Laura covered her mouth and giggled to her heart's content. "Clumsy! Let me call you Tokyo" (pp. 11-12).

Later Wu complains of a headache and Laura invites him home to give him a cure. The first thing Laura does back at her place is to take out two fried chicken legs from her refrigerator and offer one to him, which he declines. After stuffing the chicken bones into an ashtray, Laura begins to take off her skirt and her flame-like red wig. To Wu's horror, the woman in her semi-nakedness looks as old as his mother. "Why don't you take off your's? Embarrassed?" Laura giggles as she switches off the light. "To tell you the truth, I've never had a Chinese before. They say Orientals are most affectionate and considerate" (p. 15).

Whether or not Laura has succeeded in "curing" Wu's headache we have no way to tell, for no information is available on what takes place after she has undressed. The next sentence begins with a new paragraph: "When Wu Han-hun returned to the street, it was already midnight" (p. 15). What really has happened between them, however, is not as important as what this tragic-comic situation suggests: the relationship between the predator and the prey. To

extend the metaphor of Yü Kuan-chung, Pai Hsien-yung's Chia Pao-yü has walked out of the Takuanyüan only to find himself assaulted by another Wu Kuei's wife.⁷

The story ends with Wu Han-hun's suicide in Lake Michigan the next morning. By itself, such an ending would seem improbable and melodramatic. But if placed in the whole context of *The New Yorkers*, Wu's ending is far from accidental. For self-abandonment and self-destruction are two of the familiar patterns of behavior for Pai Hsien-yung's American exiles. If Wu's suicide appears melodramatic, it is the way it is handled rather than the logic of it. As indicated earlier, the death of his mother has deprived him of his most important casue for living. He no longer has anything behind him to give him moral support. Before him is a life surrounded by the Lauras who could not pronounce his name, much less appreciate the moral significance it is supposed to carry.⁸

Having examined "Death in Chicago" in some detail, it now becomes possible for us to explore some of the more discernible differences between the Taipei *jen* and the New Yorker. Pathetic and pitiable as they seem to be, the Taipei *jen*, contrary to our expectations, are hard as nails. Much as they mourn their losses on the mainland and complain about their plight in Taiwan, most of the Taipei *jen*, with the exception of Wang Hsiung and Lu Hsien-sheng,⁹ have survived in isolated spendor. By taking refuge in their private worlds of ritual and memory, they have rebuilt their homeland in exile. The New Yorkers, however, still in their twenties and thirties, are not yet old enough to inherit the Taipei *jen*'s habit of self-indulgence. On the other hand, America is certainly not the stage for the

observation of traditional Chinese rituals. While it is true that even in Taipei no prostitute would address a young customer as "*shao-yeh*" 少爺 (young master), at least she would not have made the mistake of calling a Chinese, of all names, "Tokyo."

It is probably due to this hopeless loss of personal as well as national identities that has prompted Pai Hsien-yung to call Li T'ung, the most famous of his New Yorkers, a *che-hsien* 謫仙, a banished celestial. Neither a supernatural being nor a poetic genius descending from Heaven on an earthly mission, Li T'ung 李彤 is of course a *che-hsien* only in the metaphorical sense of the term.¹⁰ Sent by her father, a high-ranking minister in the Nationalist Government, to study at Wellesley after graduating from Shanghai's McTyeire's, Li T'ung's aristocratic background, and for that matter, her pride and her past, has sunk with the ship S. S. Peace that carries her family to Taiwan shortly before the Communist victory in 1949. "When Li T'ung first learned the news, she was taken to the hospital and confined there for more than a month. She refused to eat anything and the doctors had to tie her up in bed and give her glucose and saline injections everyday."¹¹

Actually, there is not much left in Li T'ung's life that the doctors could save. After leaving Wellesley, she lands many a good job and is untiringly sought after by all manners of eligible bachelors with impressive degrees and bank accounts. But she remains single though three of her closest friends from Shanghai have married one after the other. Besides drinking, another of her favorite games is gambling, usually betting hundreds of dollars at one throw. One example illustrative of her compulsive and

capricious character can be seen in her behavior at the racetrack.

One day, finding mahjong unexciting, Li T'ung suggested to her friends to try horse racing for a change. Escorting her that day was one Teng Mao-ch'ang, a businessman from Hong Kong and an expert at the game. After checking all the necessary information, Teng advised his friends to throw in a big bet on Lucky.

"I don't want him," Li T'ung said.
"I want to pick my own horse."

"Just listen to me once, will you?"
Teng advised anxiously, his hand holding a bundle of bills we had given him.
"I swear Lucky will hit the jackpot."

Checking over the program, Li T'ung pointed to a name and told Teng,
"I want to bet on Bold Lad."

"Lucky's got to win," answered Teng.

"Bold Lad, what a pretty name! I want to bet fifty bucks on that."

"But that's a lousy horse."

"Throw in a hundred for me then,"
Li T'ung fished out five twenty-dollar bills and stuck them into Teng's hands. While he was still trying to talk her out of it, Chang Chia-hsing put in, "Why should you care if she loses? She makes over a thousand a month."

"Why are you so sure I'm going to lose?" Li T'ung turned to Chang with a sneer. "You people like to run after a sure thing. I don't."¹²

"Sure thing" in the original is *je-men* 熱門, which can be roughly translated as "the most frequented door." Its opposite is *leng-men* 冷門, a seldom used door. In doubling her bet on the *leng-men* horse, Li T'ung seems to be acting against her interest just for the sake of being different, or simply to spite "you people." But whatever the reason, what she has done at the racetrack is in keeping with her character, which is further demonstrated in her advice to Ch'en Yin

陳寅 (the first-person narrator of the story) with regard to the strategy of the mahjong game. "You'd better heed my words: never try to win big when playing with these people, including your beautiful bride. They are the queens of the small game and the quick kill. I build toward the best combination of tiles; if I can't make it, I would rather lose."¹³

Her propensity to be unusual, to win big, to go against the common run of things, is the very style of Li T'ung's life. She empties her drinks (Manhattans being her favorite) in gulps; she pulls out a ten-dollar bill to tip a doorman who opened the door for her; she gives away a big diamond ring intended as a part of her dowry by her mother to Ch'en Yin's small daughter for a toy. But however lonely and lost she may feel among the "kings and queens of the small game and quick kill," she never allows her private sentiments to surface, which is perhaps the most salient thematic difference between the Taipei *jen* and the New Yorker. In New York, Li T'ung has lived a life empty of any memory of her past; not once has she mentioned her father or her highschool days in Shanghai.

Curiously enough, in view of her fabulous beauty, her unpredictable temper, her disdain for worldly triviality, Li T'ung strikes us more like a legendary figure from the T'ang *ch'uan-ch'i* 傳奇 than a modern Chinese girl. In this respect, she is worthy of her title as a *che-hsien* and in the end she does disappear like a *che-hsien*. Her death is reported in a telegram from the Chinese Consulate in Italy. Except that she drowns herself in Venice, no specifics surrounding her death are known.

Of course, not all the Chinese New Yorkers are like Wu Han-hun and Li T'ung. Some other courses of action are

available. In Tsung Chih-lin's 宗之林 *The Marginal Man* (Pien-yüan jen) 邊緣人, yet another novel about Chinese exiles in America, an anthropologist outlines the dilemma of the overseas Chinese as follows:

We have grown up in a completely self-confident culture. Simple and stable, our life patterns used to be easily predictable. But now we have been transplanted to a culture which is mobile, energetic, and fundamentally different from our own. Whatever we do, even with our eyes closed, we are on the edge of two cultures. Thus, our inability to make a choice as to which of the two cultures we should adhere to is the source of our troubles, suffering and conflict.¹⁴

In essence, what he is trying to say can be summarized in one platitude: identity crisis. To the extent that they have shown no indication of being ashamed of their Chinese origin, none of Pai Hsien-yung's New Yorkers can be called a marginal man. Though technically all of them are sitting, as it were, on the edge of two cultures, their source of suffering has nothing to do with their inability to make a choice. For their presence in America is already a choice, be it cultural or political, or simply for the sake of material comfort. Wu Han-hun kills himself because he has lost his cause to live; Li T'ung drowns herself because, to put it in her own words, "if I can't make it, I would rather lose."

Far from being a victim of the so-called identity crisis, some of the Chinese New Yorkers suffer because as exiles in a foreign country they are unrealistically defensive of their Chinese consciousness. Such is the case of I-p'ing 依萍 in "One Day in Pleasantville" ("An-lo-hsiang ti i-jih 安樂鄉的一日," 1964).

A Home Economics major from Taiwan, all I-p'ing's ambition in life is to be a good wife and a loving mother. Handicapped by her English and married to a rich husband (Wei-ch'eng 偉成), she has neither the need nor the ability to take a part-time job. Since her's is the only Chinese family in Pleasantville, an upper-class New York suburb, she becomes weary of mixing socially with the local housewives. No matter where she goes, she cannot be her natural self, for she feels duty-bound to live up to other people's stock-images of a Chinese lady. But what makes her most uncomfortable is not her American neighbors but her own husband and daughter. A successful Wall Street broker, Wei-ch'eng's identity is equated with his financial success, which transcends national and ethnic bounds. He enjoys ox-tail soup, and aside from television soap-operas, his favorite pastime is to play hide-and-seek with his American-born daughter Pao-li 寶莉, who speaks nothing but English since entering grade school.

Since I-p'ing was brought up in an old-fashioned family with all the traditional Chinese discipline expected of a daughter, she wants to do the same with Pao-li. But her hopes are shattered when one day, returning from summer camp, Pao-li greets her mother by her English first name Rose.

Compared with what is to follow at the end, however, this is but a minor shock.

"Pao-li," I-p'ing suddenly asked, "Lolita's mother called this afternoon and told me that you had pulled Lolita's hair at school, making her cry. Why did you do that?"

"Oh, Lolita is a dirty pig." Pao-li yelled while biting her teeth.

"Pao-li, you shouldn't call your

schoolmates that. But why did you pull her hair?"

"She said I'm Chinese!" Pao-li's cheeks suddenly flushed.

"Pao-li," I-p'ing put down her chopsticks and lowered her voice. "What Lolita said is right: you're Chinese."

"I told her I'm American. Lolita said I was lying. She called me a 'Chinaman'."

"Listen, Pao-li, you were born in America, therefore you're an American citizen, but your father and mother are both Chinese, therefore you're also Chinese."

"I'm not Chinese!" Pao-li shouted.

"Pao-li!" Don't talk nonsense. Look, the color of our hair is different from the Americans. Your father, your mother and you — we're all Chinese."

"No I'm not Chinese!" Pao-li stamped her feet, writhing her body and struggling to set herself free from her mother's grasp.

I-p'ing, her face pale, exclaimed in a trembling voice: "I want you to repeat after me: 'I — am — Chi-n-e-se!'"

"I am not Chinese! I am not Chinese!"¹⁵

In the end I-p'ing breaks down. After helping her to bed, Wei-ch'eng offers her this advice: "I go along with you that children should be disciplined, but not in this way. Pao-li is only eight, how could she tell the difference between Chinese and American? All her schoolmates are Americans, naturally she thinks she ought to be an American. Rose, to tell you the truth, Pao-li was born in America, raised in America, and when she grows up, she will live her life like an American. The more she is adjusted to her situation, the happier she will be. You're worried about Pao-li becoming an American because you don't want to be an American. This is your own psychological hang-up and it is not fair to pass it on to our daughter"

(p. 46).

Wei-ch'eng, it should be noted in passing, is not the only "adjusted" Chinese New Yorker in this series. Mei-lun and Chang Han-sheng, the two young lovers in "Ascending the Empire State Building" ("Shang mo-tien lou ch'ü 上摩天樓去", 1964) are also good examples. Like Wei-ch'eng, their identity is to be found in the success of their careers. They do not seem to miss what is left behind them, and they are more than confident in what lies ahead. It is perhaps for this reason that neither "One Day in Pleasantville" nor "Ascending the Empire State Building" is labelled a New Yorker story. Even I-p'ing, for all her grievances, is not a New Yorker proper. Her loneliness is only personal; it never reaches the kind of profound sorrow and lostness suggested by the epigraphical poem.

The second "official" New Yorker story in "Grievances of a Celestial in Mundane Exile 謫仙怨". More interesting as a sociological study than as a literary work for its subject, this short piece is yet another example of personal disintegration among the Chinese New Yorkers.¹⁶ The story begins with a letter from a daughter to her mother in Taiwan. In her letter, Huang Feng-i 黃鳳儀 encloses a \$500 check for her mother to pay her debts and urges her to spend the remainder in whatever way she wants to, so long as it can make her happy. Huang writes rather glowingly about her happy life in New York, where she works on a full-time job and no longer has to worry about school. The letter ends with a postscript asking her mother not to send her any more Chinese canned food because she no longer cooks Chinese meals, finding it too much of a bother.

Immediately following the conclusion

of the letter the scene shifts to a New York City bar. It turns out that the full-time job Huang Feng-i referred to is waiting for the calls of her customers. Huang is a call girl, though mockingly addressed by her madam as "our Mongolian Princess." In stories like this one and "Death in Chicago," Pai Hsien-yung has aligned himself with such a popular writer of topical interest as Yü Li-hua. To some extent, the tragedies of Wu Han-hun and Huang Feng-i are not too different from that of Mou T'ien-lei in Yü Li-hua's 於梨華 novel *Again the Palm Trees* (*Yu-chien tsung-lü, yu-chien tsung-lü* 又見棕櫚, 又見棕櫚). For, like Mou T'ien-lei, their decision to study abroad is not so much motivated by a desire for knowledge as by the social pressure built around them. As Mou T'ien-lei puts it, Taiwan is a place where "everyone has his eyes set on America, from college students down to cooks. To study for a Ph.D. degree, to make money, to marry an American girl. In short, everyone wants to get out of this place. It is really puzzling. Here in Taiwan, even those who are comfortably well off want to leave. And once in America, even those who are actually suffering wouldn't want to return. This is really the strangest phenomenon in the twentieth century."¹⁷ Strange as it is, Mou T'ien-lei is no exception. Years before, when he privately examined his purpose of going abroad, he had no better answer than "Since everyone else is going, I might as well."¹⁸

Huang Feng-i came for the same reason, under similar pressure. After the death of her father, she and her mother had lived in reduced circumstances in Taiwan. Worse still, because during his lifetime Huang's father had been a very prominent Kuomintang official, even after

his death his widow felt impelled to keep up the appearance worthy of his former social status. This included, among other things, mahjong games and Peking operas. Naturally, Mrs. Huang could never make her ends meet. Whenever she lost at the mahjong table, she had to "lower her voice" (p. 89) in order to borrow from her sister-in-law who, while Mr. Huang was around, was her social inferior. As the only child in the family, Huang Feng-i took it upon herself to provide for her mother and to honor her family name. Thus she comes to the States to study at New York University, but upon finding herself "no stuff for a scholar" (p. 91), she drops out from school after two years and takes up her "full-time job" (p. 91). She sends home all the money she could spare so that her mother could be on a social par with her aunt.

Outlined above are the fates of four of the more memorable Chinese New Yorkers: Wu Han-hun, I-p'ing, Li T'ung and Huang Feng-i. As stories, they may be just as absorbing as *Taipei jen*, especially to the Chinese readers who are themselves "New Yorkers." But judged on artistic grounds in terms of language and technique, the New Yorker series as a whole pales in the colorful company of *Taipei jen*. Except for Li T'ung, no New Yorker has a style that can stand for a modest comparison with any of the *Taipei jen* discussed in this paper. In notable absence are the uses of colloquialism in dialogues, the unobtrusive insertion of classical allusions in the narratives, the operatic motifs, the well-wrought metaphors and dramatic symbols, the suggestive personal epithets, the stream-of-consciousness passages that have enabled us to eavesdrop on the secret whisperings of some of the most reticent of the *Taipei jen*'s mind.

Exactly why *The New Yorker*, written almost contemporaneously with *Taipei jen*, should prove to be a lesser artistic creation is a question difficult to answer. But as a clue, perhaps we can find something illuminating from a statement by Pai Hsien-yung himself on creative writing. In answer to a question addressed to him by a student at a literary gathering in Taipei some years ago, Pai Hsien-yung offered this view on the relative advantages and disadvantages for writers in Taipei and in America as follows:

... One of the difficulties facing the Chinese writers writing in America is that owing to long absence from Taiwan, he is likely to forget some of the small details. But there is one advantage: this absence will place you at a distance from Taiwan society, Chinese culture and Chinese everything. With this distance, you can have a more thorough, more objective view of China precisely because you are not involved in it. ...¹⁹

It could be that he was talking about his

experiences in the writing of *Taipei jen*. Having been away from Taiwan for more than ten years, he has had enough "distance" to look at the generation of his father with the kind of thoroughness and objectivity he referred to in his talk. With the *New Yorker* series, however, it is different if only because he himself is a *New Yorker*; he is too personally involved to give a dispassionate examination of his characters, the way he distanced himself from the bathos of the *Taipei jen*. It is perhaps for this reason that after "Grievances of a Celestial in Mundane Exile," Pai Hsien-yung once again moves his fictional world back to Taipei. His last *Taipei jen* story is "State Funeral" ("Kuo-tsang 國葬," 1971). Since then his creative energies have been concentrated on a full-length novel. *Nieh-tzu* 孽子 (*Misbegotten Son*), published by Taipei's Yüan-ching ch'u-p'an-she in 1983, is a 397-page narrative exploring the nebulous world of homosexuality which must be considered in a larger context than is warranted in the present essay.

NOTES

¹ The twelve stories are as follows:

Chin ta-nai-nai 金大奶奶 (The Elder Mrs. Chin), 1958

Ju-yüan 入院 (In the Hospital), 1959

Men-lei 悶雷 (Thundering), 1959

Wo-men k'an chü-hua ch'ü 我們看菊花去 (Let's Go and See the Chrysanthemums), 1960

Yüeh-meng 月夢 (Moon Dream), 1960

Yü-ch'ing Sao 玉卿嫂 (Jade Love), 1960

Hei-hung 黑虹 (The Black Rainbow), 1960

Hsiao-yang-ch'un 小陽春 (Littel Spring), 1961

Ch'ing-ch'un 青春 (Youth), 1961

Ts'ang-tsai k'ou-tai-li ti-shou 藏在口袋裏的手 (The Hand Hidden in the Pocket), 1961

Chi-mo-ti shih-ch'i-sui 寂寞的十七歲 (Lonely Seventeen), 1961

Pi-yeh 畢業 (Graduation), 1961

"Chin ta-nai-nai" and "Yu-ch'ing Sao" have been translated into English by Nancy Chang Ing

(Taipei: Heritage Press, 1961) and *New Chinese Writing*, ed. Lucian Wu (Taipei: Heritage Press, 1962).

- ² C. T. Hsia places Pai Hsien-yung's early stories into two categories. In the first category we find those that are centered more or less on the author's autobiographical experiences, such as "The Elder Mrs. Chin," "Let's Go and See the Chrysanthemums," "Jade Love" and "Lonely Seventeen." The second category consists of stories verging on fantasy and homosexuality, such as "Youth," "Moon Dream," "Thundering," "Black Rainbow," "Little Spring" and "The Hand Hidden in the Pocket." See Hsia, "On Pai Hsien-yung" ("Pai Hsien-yung lun"), *Modern Literature*, No. 39 (1969) pp. 4-6. My essay on *Taipei jen* is entitled "'Crowded Hours' Revisited: the Evocation of the Past in *Taipei jen*," *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXXV, No. 1 (Nov. 1975), pp. 31-45. *Taipei jen* is now available in English translation under the title *Wandering in the Garden, Waking from a Dream: Tales of Taipei Characters*, translated by Pai Hsien-yung and Patia Yasin and published by Indiana University Press in 1982.
- ³ In the original Chinese title *Niu-yüeh k'e*, the word *k'e* in such a context can of course be interpreted as "inhabitant, resident." However, its literal meaning remains "visitor, guest." The ambivalence here is obviously deliberate and significant.
- ⁴ Burton Watson's translation, in *Chinese Lyricism: Shih Poetry from the Second to the Twelfth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press 1972), p. 115.
- ⁵ *Modern Literature*, No. 37 (1969), p. 119.
- ⁶ *Niu-yüeh k'e* (Hong Kong: Wen-i shu-wu, 1974), p. 7. Subsequent page references in the text are to this anthology. Unless otherwise acknowledged, all translations are by the present writer. For convenience, I have referred to all of Pai Hsien-yung's Chinese exiles in America as "New Yorkers," even though Wu Han-hun, the hero in "Death in Chicago," is, as it were, a "Chicagoan."
- ⁷ This takes place in Chapter 77 in the Ch'eng-Kao Edition of *Dream of the Red Chamber* in which Pao-yü pays a secret visit to the bed-ridden Ch'ing-wen after she is banished from Jungkuofu. In the Yü P'ing-po 平伯 variorum four-volume edition (*Hung-lou-meng pa-shih-hui chiao-pen* 紅樓夢八十回校本), however, Mrs. Wu is referred to as Teng Ku-niang.
- ⁸ "Han-hun" literally means "the soul of China."
- ⁹ Wang Hsiung and Lu Hsien-sheng (Mr. Lu) are characters from *Taipei jen* found respectively in "A Wave of Blood-dripping Azaleas" (那片血一般紅的杜鵑花) and "Jung-chi Restaurant." (花橋榮記)
- ¹⁰ "Che-hsien" is one of the highest compliments one can give to a poet for his extraordinary personality and accomplishment. It is said that after Ho Chih-chang had met and read Li Po's poems in Ch'ang-an, Ho sighed in admiration, "You're indeed a *che-hsien* [banished celestial]" (see the biography of Li Po 李白 in *T'ang-shu* 唐書). In fiction, *che-hsien* often appears in the form of a woman of exceptional beauty and talent. "The Jade Girl from Heaven" (T'ien-shang yü-nü 天上玉女) in *Sou-shen chi* 搜神記 is one such example, not to mention the one hundred beauties in the Ch'ing novel *Flowers in the Mirror* (*Ching-hua yüan* 鏡花緣).
- ¹¹ *Niu-yüeh k'e*, p. 64. Translation by Pai Hsien-yung and C. T. Hsia, "Li T'ung: A Chinese Girl in New York," in C. T. Hsia, ed., *Twentieth Century Chinese Stories* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), pp. 222.
- ¹² *Niu-yüeh k'e*, p. 73; Hsia, *Twentieth-Century Chinese Stories*, p. 228.
- ¹³ *Niu-yüeh k'e*, p. 67; Hsia, *Twentieth-Century Chinese Stories*, p. 224.
- ¹⁴ *The Marginal Man* (Taipei: Hsin-ya ch'u-p'an-she, n. d.), p. 15.
- ¹⁵ *Niu-yüeh k'e*, pp. 44-46. This story has been translated into English by Julia Fitzgerald and Vivian Hsu. See *Born of the Same Roots: Stories of Modern Chinese Women*, edited by Vivian Hsu

(Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981), pp. 184-192.

¹⁶ Ts'ung Su 叢甦, for one, has written a story dealing with a similar experience. See "Beyond Paradise" (Tsai lo-yüan wai 在樂園外), in the anthology *Autumn Fog* (Ch'ü-wu 秋霧; Taipei: Ch'en-chung chu-pan-she, 1972).

¹⁷ Yü Li-hua, *Again the Palm Trees* (Yu-chien tsung-lü, yu-chien tsung-lü; Taipei: Huang-kuan ch'u-pan-she, n. d.), p. 313.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

¹⁹ "On Fiction Writing" (Hsiao-shuo hsieh-tso man-t'an 小說寫作漫談), in *Young Lion Magazine* (Yu-shih wen-i 幼獅文藝), No. 244, (1974), p. 69.



Scientism during the May Fourth Period:

Chinese Misconceptions of Science as Reflected in the Debate between Ting Wen-chiang and Chang Chün-mai

Jiu-jung Lo

(羅玖蓉)

I. INTRODUCTION

Modern science and technology originate from two major presuppositions: there are observable regularities in the physical world, and the universe is created by a transcendental God. While the concept of a divine lawgiver can be traced back to ancient Judaism and is present in the ancient Mesopotamian and Greek tradition,¹ its viable association with the concept of the laws of Nature did not occur until Descartes claimed he had found the "laws which God has put into nature."² It was the convergence of these two strands of thought made possible by human reason in the seventeenth century that gave modern science the dynamism it needed for making the decisive breakthrough.

The case was different in China where the concept of a transcendental Creator putting life into the cosmic order ceased to prevail after the Chou dynasty,³ and the concept of the laws of Nature failed to take strong roots under the presumption of a "cosmic-ethical unity."⁴ As it is, the strong emphasis put on human reason by Confucianism provided

little impetus for the study of physical laws. This of course was directly related to the peculiar type of Confucian rationalism in sharp contrast to that of the West. Reason in China connoted more moral implications than in the West where it tended to be cognitively oriented. Also in the Chinese tradition, reason was related more to a socio-political moral-cultural order than to the natural order.

It is generally acknowledged that the ancient Chinese contributed many ingenious devices and technological inventions to the world, yet science in the modern sense of the word was never given a proper chance to develop. The underlying reason is perhaps simply that the physical order was seldom taken into account on its own terms. Instead, practical considerations were often the overriding motivation behind Chinese technological development. As long as physical needs were satisfied to a certain extent, there was little further impetus to move toward a theoretical understanding of nature as such. This accounted for the empirical nature of science in China. On the

higher level, phenomenology served the principal purpose of comprehending Heaven's will as manifested in the order of Nature. This moral-empirical approach was clearly reflected in Astronomy. In this field, the ancient Chinese developed a system "equal in scope and value, but different in method from that of the Greeks."⁵ For a country living on agriculture, the practical values of Astronomy of course could not be underestimated. Its real significance, however, lay in bringing out the "unity and even ethical solidarity of the universe."⁶ In other words, it was by and large an enterprise full of religious implications, rather than mere assertion of human will and intellect. Within the Chinese context, human reason in its cognitive sense is justified by accommodating itself to the cosmological order, not by claiming its validity as such. Compared with moral reason, it was relatively neglected. In this way, scientific investigation in China took an entirely different route from that of the West, and ended up in creating a relatively incongenial condition for the kind of science that appeared in the modern West to develop.

The seventeenth century witnessed the rise of modern science in the Western world. New discoveries made by Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo and Newton changed the whole outlook on the universe and along with it man's conception of himself. The subsequent Industrial Revolution endowed men with unprecedented power in manipulating the hitherto untamed nature, thus gave rise to a sense of unlimited hope and confidence. Later when this confidence overrode the original religious faith which underlay most of the early scientific achievements, scientism came

in to satisfy men's overblown egoism. In his *Scientism in Chinese Thought: 1900-1950*, D. W. Y. Kwok defined scientism as follows:

Scientism, in general, is a form of belief arising from a tradition or heritage in which the limiting principles of science itself have formed general application and have become the cultural assumptions and axioms of that culture. More strictly, scientism ("scientistic" is the adjective) should be defined as that view which places all reality within a natural order and deems all aspects of this order, be they biological, social, physical, or psychological, to be knowable only by the methods of science.⁷

Hence science is given an immense power to command all aspects of human life. Moreover, it is asserted that there is no truth in this world that cannot be reached through scientific methods based upon experimentation, quantification, causal relations, and evolution.⁸ Any knowledge that does not conform with the application criteria of these four principles is denied access to truth. As a result, truth is reduced to what can only be grasped through scientific methods, and experience becomes the ultimate criteria for judging what is true.

While Western science evolved through a particular cosmology, the Chinese, with little indigenous resources to draw a clear distinction between Natural Laws and Laws of Nature,⁹ made contact with modern science in the eighteenth century through the products of Western industrial and technological development. The relationships between science and technology in the Western context were much more complicated than the Chinese could understand.

For the Chinese, science and technology were inseparable. Their logic was very simple: if they were two separate things, how could the discrepancy in terms of power and strength between China and the West be explained? This misconception resulted in much waste of money as well as manpower primarily because China pursued science through a route which was related to science in many ways but not necessarily identified with it. Worst of all, it created a myth of science in China. Despite their eagerness to transplant "science" to China, the Chinese encountered a twofold barrier. On the one hand, they did not know what science was, what it implied, and why it occurred in the West. On the other, still dominated by the traditional Chinese world-cosmic view, they tended to approach scientific problems from an organic perspective. The result of this double misconception was a notion of science which was amorphous at best.

This misunderstanding persisted in various forms until the early twentieth century when the debate between "science and metaphysics" arose in 1923. At that time, deeply disturbed by the unprecedented man-made catastrophe brought about by World War I, many European philosophers began to lose confidence in the modern Western culture which was under the strong influence of scientific developments. This sense of pessimism was brought back to China by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao in 1919 when he returned from a trip to Europe. By that time, many Chinese were disillusioned by the 1919 Versailles Peace Conference in which China was treated unjustly by the Western powers over the Shantung question. The Western and the indigenous reactions together created a feeling that destructive warfare and the

deterioration of moral integrity in the West were caused by Western scientific achievements. Under this circumstance, the 1923 debate between Ting Wen-chiang and Chang Chün-mai almost immediately elicited enthusiastic responses from the Chinese intellectuals.

On focus was an issue involving elements which the Chinese mind found very difficult to compromise: tradition vs. modernization; metaphysics vs. science. Also participated in the debate were the pragmatist Hu Shih, the Marxist Chen Tu-hsiu, and the self-proclaimed materialist Wu Chih-hui. All three of them, despite their different intellectual and political inclinations, shared a more or less scientistic position. It was, however, Ting and Chang who provided the most interesting viewpoints on the subject of the Contemporary Chinese Conceptions of science. These two men's significance lay mainly in their making efforts to stay out of the scientistic mainstream at the time. Unlike Hu, Chen, and Wu, neither was prone to attribute omnipotence to science. While Chang associated himself with the German Idealistic tradition, Ting followed the British Empirical school and claimed affiliation with "Skeptical Idealism." Of course none of these proclaimed allegiance and affiliations should be taken in the literal sense, for no other reason than that there was often a discrepancy between their assertions and the arguments presented supporting these assertions. To a great extent, their deviations from other Chinese contemporaries only corroborated the tenacious power traditional Chinese ways of thinking held on the Chinese people, and how strongly the organic world-cosmic view affected the way Chinese

approached problems. It can be argued that both Ting and Chang, for various reasons, did not fully grasp either the substantive content of science or the philosophical debates between the European Idealistic and Empirical schools on free will and determinism. As a result, there was much confusion in their exchange of arguments, both in their respective understanding of the European philosophical tradition from which they drew inspirations as well as in their understanding of each other's viewpoints.

Amidst their divergent opinions and confused as well as confusing arguments, there were several critical misconceptions of science shared by both Ting and Chang. This, however, did not imply that their knowledge of science was on the same footing. In many respects, Ting, having received a formal science education in British high school and college and a graduate of the Edinburgh University in Scotland, showed that he was more knowledgeable in science and technology than Chang and most of his fellow-countrymen. But in the final analysis, his scientific background turned out to be of limited help in leading toward a substantive understanding of science. Engaged in refuting one extreme misconception of science (Idealism), he unwittingly leaned toward another (Positivism). On the part of Chang Chün-mai, it should be noted that though he held a reserved attitude toward science, he did not reject science altogether; rather he was concerned that science should not be allowed to meddle with things in the spiritual realm.

The reason why Ting and Chang were chosen as the focus of this discussion of the Chinese conceptions toward

science is, therefore, not their representativeness as such of the Chinese view of science at the time, but their very striking representativeness in spite of their resistance against the current of much hailing and worship of science as a panacea for redressing every defect in China, be it of natural or social character. Although their cultural backgrounds and personal interests might have set a limit to their understanding of the West, it was also because of these factors that Ting and Chang would be the last persons in the early twentieth century China to grant science any encompassing role in human life. Yet in the final analysis, one cannot help noticing the irony that in their conscientious efforts to avoid the dominance of scientism, they actually expressed notions which were more scientistic than scientific, and that their differences with the scientistic thinkers in China at that time were merely in degree, but not in kind.

This paper will concentrate on three fundamental issues brought up in the debate between Ting Wen-chiang and Chang Chün-mai:

1. Antithesis between spirit and matter, subjectivity and objectivity.
2. Scientific law and its implications; in what ways do scientific laws involve causality, prediction, and determinism. What is the relationship between scientific methods and scientific investigation?
3. The relationship between science and technology.

Although the "science and metaphysics" debate took place in 1923, the implications of some of the controversial issues brought up then have not yet been exhausted. To this day, there are still some scholars who would use the dualism of spirit and matter to characterize Eastern and Western civilization.

Science is still much associated with "objectivity" as manifested in impersonal observations. And the overstretching emphasis on scientific methods has by no means died out. As late as 1957, the late professor Yin Hai-kuang, a well-respected scholar in Logic and the Philosophy of Science, still asserted that the principles of the human world and the physical world belonged to the same category in that "both can be subject to observation, experimentation, and analysis. In sum, both can be studied with strict scientific methods."¹⁰ Early in 1982, a research conference on science and technology was held in Taipei. Once again, science and technology engaged public attention. The whole discussion, however, gave the impression that more emphasis was given to the latter than the former. One of the distinguished physicists, Dr. T. Y. Wu, pointed out that as reflected in the official policy and practices, "science and technology" denoted nothing but technology and that "science" had become an adjective of "technology." The misconception of science as such and the conflation of science and technology may constitute the two most important reasons as to why more than a century after China first opened her doors to the West, science is still very much wooed yet not obtained. In this light, a review of the fundamental problems confronting Ting Wen-chiang and Chang Chün-mai almost sixty years ago and the possible causes leading toward their conceptions becomes all the more relevant.

II. OBJECTIVITY

Chang Chün-mai based his assertion as to why science should be kept out of the reach of spiritual life on a stark

demarcation between subjectivity and objectivity. To him, science, in the pure sense of the word, was by nature objective and related only to matter; while the philosophy of life was characterized by spirituality and therefore subjective. Emanated from the self, the philosophy of life could have no claim whatsoever to universality, for every value judgment would ultimately involve personal evaluations. Given the different personalities and orientations of people, there was no way their viewpoints and perspectives could ever be unified under a comprehensive system of scientific laws. Thus he proposed in the first paragraph of his article, originally given as a speech addressing the Tsing-hua University students, that "Past or present, East and West, there is nothing more diversified, more defying unification than the philosophy of life."¹¹

To drive his points home, he made a comparison between science and the philosophy of life in the following aspects:

1. Science is objective; the philosophy of life is subjective.
2. Science is governed by scientific methods including induction and deduction; the philosophy of life by intuition.
3. Science can be approached with analytical methods; whereas the philosophy of life is synthetic.
4. Science is governed by laws of causality; the philosophy of life by free will.
5. Science originates from the uniformity of the objects under study; the philosophy of life from the particularity of individual personality.¹²

The philosophy of life is therefore characterized by subjectivity, intuition, synthesis, free will, and particularity. Together they make it impossible to

resort to science to solve the problems of the philosophy of life, asserted Chang.

In his claim of the diversity of human affairs in contrast to the regularity of natural phenomena, Chang discussed free will without affirming the existence of an absolute moral order. In this way, he made himself vulnerable to the attack of moral relativism. As it is, the absolute moral order can exist in spite of the different perspectives people may take in making efforts to know it. The way Chang presented his arguments in terms of subjective will arising from moral cognition leaves the moral order in a state of uncertainty.

Chang conceived science as the study of natural phenomena characterized by uniformity and independent of human will. Though he was willing to grant spiritual sciences, that is, according to him, social sciences such as political science, economics, psychology, and philosophy, a place in the realm of science, he contended that the "objective effects" were maximum in material sciences and less in spiritual sciences.¹³ So far, it seemed that Chang did not reject the idea that even a subject like philosophy was "objective" to some extent and that the difference between material and spiritual sciences in terms of "objectivity" was only one of degree. But this classification was soon overturned by his discussion of the philosophy of life in which there was little doubt that he attributed subjectivity to any discipline derived from the human mind as antithetic to the "objectivity" of science. Among the examples Chang cited to vindicate his notion of the subjectivity and diversification of the philosophy of life were Confucius's concept of T'ien-Tao (The Way of Heaven) and Lao tzu's non-action;

Mencius's concept of the innate goodness of human nature and Hsün-tzu's concept of the evil nature of men; Kant's categorical imperative and Bentham's Utilitarianism; Darwin's evolutionary theory and Kropotkin's cooperatism. From this list, we find that in speaking of the philosophy of life, Chang was juxtaposing various social and philosophical theories of different natures; some emphasizing human mind, and some experience. This is indicative of the fact that his conception of both "subjectivity" and "philosophy of life" is vague and confused. What Chang failed to see is that objectivity is not necessarily identified with uniformity and that the diversified views held by individuals does not necessarily imply they are subject to personal whims. Obviously Chang was himself not very clear about what he meant by the distinction between subjectivity and objectivity. Hence in using it as a criterion to distinguish between science and the philosophy of life, he ran into trouble time and again.

Ting Wen-chiang quickly grasped this weakness in Chang's argument and pointed out that Chang's using Darwinism to prove that the philosophy of life was by nature subjective clearly indicated that science could not be separated from the philosophy of life. There are, however, two problems with Ting's refutation. First, his assertion was founded on the premise that Chang took Darwinism as a philosophy of life which, in Ting's thought, however, was scientific. Regardless of their individual conception of Darwinism, two different interpretations by no means connote that one equals another. Second, on the whole, Ting's rebuttal did not touch those examples given by Chang referring more

to morality than to experience. Even when he did, as on the subject of human nature, he reduced it to the experiential level by asserting that scientific methods had already solved the controversy concerning the quality of human nature. Ting's stance on the question of subjectivity and objectivity was that there was no clear distinction between spirit and matter; rather they shared the common feature of being originated from sense impressions. Ting, drawing from Ernst Mach, John Dewey, and Bertrand Russell, argued against the existence of an "I" independent of sense perceptions, which was regarded as the essence of human knowledge. In other words, we could only grant actuality to the manifestation of this essence, i.e., human action. Ting realized that on the subjects of action, expressions, and consciousness, Mach, Dewey, and Russell did not fully agree with one another. Yet he spoke of all three of them undisparately in his refutation of Chang. His confidence in them regardless of their differences was rooted, on the one hand, in their emphasis on sensory experiences, which corroborated his own epistemological conceptions taken from Karl Pearson, and on the other hand, in their being scientific. As he noted:

Despite their many differences, these three schools (Russell, Mach, Dewey) can be called scientific, for they all use scientific results and scientific methods to solve the epistemological problems, as in sharp contrast to what Chün-mai believes in.¹⁴

Basically, Ting drew from Pearson's argument in *Grammar of Science* to refute Chang's separation of spirit and matter, subjectivity and objectivity. Pearson maintained that human beings

form concepts of things through immediate sense impressions together with association and inferences based upon past or stored sense impressions. Thus sense impression which leads to conception constitutes the most essential element in our knowing what is knowable. Though Pearson did not explicitly reject the notion of a reality independent of human perceptions, he came very close to that conclusion. It was his contention that "the universe is largely the construction of each individual mind."¹⁵ Accordingly, he used the word "construct" to denote the content of human knowledge. Under this premise, the material world would change its appearances once human sense organs were constructed otherwise than normal. For instance, Ting, following Pearson, gave the example of a color-blind person whose distorted organ of perception transformed the color of roses from red to green. Furthermore, through sense impressions we comprehended not only the material world, but psychological phenomena as well; not only the psychological phenomena of one's own, but those of other people. The conclusion thus reached was that "no matter how complicated, thoughts consist of nothing but sense impressions. Immediate sense impressions provide the stimulus of thinking; indirect sense impressions form the essence of thinking. But a trained mind can fly from one to another, associates them and goes from direct sense perceptions to indirect concepts."¹⁶ This statement, though justified to a certain extent, nevertheless had its limitations. It failed to provide convincing arguments on the problem of how cognitive perception could be achieved beyond direct or indirect sense impressions. In speaking of a "trained mind,"

Ting apparently used it to denote a learning process confined within experience and left abstract and moral knowing undiscussed.

Moreover, since both spirit and matter were conceived as being originated from sense impressions, which served as the basic elements of human thought; this theory could easily fall into the same dilemma as that which they accused the Idealists of: how could one be sure that what one sensed and thought was scientifically, and at the same time, universally true? To solve this problem, further assertions had to be made. Ting, again drawing from Pearson, argued that the psychological content and nature of all normal human beings were the same in terms of kind. Great men and geniuses possessed the same mental apparatus as ordinary people did. In other words, "similarity of the universe for all normal human beings"¹⁷ was taken for granted so as to make the validity of scientific generalization possible.

As sense impressions were regarded as forming the only sphere capable of being known, everything beyond sense impressions and consciousness must be left in doubt. Ting called this "Skeptical Idealism" and argued that because skeptical idealists "conceive sense impressions as the only way through which we can know physical bodies, and since concepts of physical bodies are phenomena of the mind, they are called idealists. As to whether there are things existent outside the world of sense impressions and beyond consciousness, or what is the essence of physical bodies, they all admit ignorance and argue they should be left in doubt. For this reason, they are called skeptical."¹⁸ Yet despite the label of "Idealism,"

there was a strong positivistic element in this so-called Skeptical Idealism. There was definitely a discrepancy between Ting's "mind" and "mind" in the Idealistic sense. Furthermore, though Ting acknowledged the power of the mind in knowing things, yet in the ultimate sense, the mind was conditioned by a claim to scientific validity. Truth in this context implied scientific truth which was not only subject to observation and experimentation, but also capable of being perceived by all normal human beings. The ironic point, however, is that this did not exempt Ting's "Skeptical Idealism" from being attacked by its own Positivist allies. As pointed out by Charlotte Furth, Ting's epistemology "left the very existence of a physical world outside the mind in a state of Cartesian doubt."¹⁹

It can be seen from the above that Ting's denial of the demarcation between subjectivity and objectivity is not as opposed to Chang's dualistic approach as he himself claimed it was. Although he denounced the separation of matter and spirit as absurd, his arguments that both spirit and matter had their ultimate source in sense impressions and that things knowable only through the mind could not be categorized as pure matter did not support his assertion that the line between subjectivity and objectivity could not be drawn at all. On the lower sensory level, he acknowledged the closely interwoven relationship between spirit and matter. Yet beyond sense impressions, the existence of both matter and spirit was cast in doubt, therefore left in complete uncertainty. In other words, the ability of the cognitive mind to know was actually conditioned by the ability of human senses to perceive. Though the moral mind was not totally

denied, the fact that sense impressions were given more power than they actually possessed would eventually lead to the logical conclusion of the separation of matter and spirit.

As a result of this, despite Ting's willingness to allow the mind a place within the sphere of sense impressions, he did not associate it with subjectivity in the same sense as Chang used this word. Rather, by emphasizing the similarity of the mental apparatus of normal human beings, he felt no inhibition in saying that "the purpose of science is to expel individual subjective prejudices — the most formidable obstacle in forming a philosophy of life — to seek the truth that can be recognized by everyone."²⁰ In line with this, he denied the reality of "I"; rather "I", asserted he, was "a bunch of thoughts, an animal who acts, or a complex entity composed of memories and emotion."²¹

The relationship between spirit and matter had been a controversial issue in Western philosophical debates for centuries. As early as in the sixth century, the Greek philosopher Democritus, following the Ionian tradition, remarked that "By convention colored, by convention sweet, by convention bitter, in reality only atoms and the void."²² This is the origin of the materialistic conception of the cosmos. In contrast, the Pythagorean school, interpreting the universe in terms of numbers and geometrical theorems, recognized that there is an inherent rationality in the natural world. After Christianity dominated Western culture, the Ionian conception of a materialistically based universe was never very much the mainstream until the coming of the scientific age. Even in the first few

decades after modern science made its appearance, moreover, with the epoch-making discoveries of Copernicus, Galileo, and Newton, scientists and ordinary people still believed what was revealed to them belonged to a realm whose reality was beyond doubt. The Positivistic philosophy changed all this by replacing reason in the cosmic sense with human reason confined within the range of logical inferences and mundane experiences. As a result, phenomena beyond sensory experiences and logic were deprived of their inherent rationality. Only those phenomena capable of being verified by experience and logic were considered true. Most important of all, "objectivity" became synonymous with science and was set as the highest ideal of science, not only for the physical sciences, but for the social sciences as well. Everything associated with personal feeling and judgments implied prejudices and biases, and should thus be eliminated altogether.

Through the "objective methods of classification, observation, and experimentation," men began to assume that it was within their power to come to grips with social problems in a scientific way. Hence the separation of subjectivity and objectivity was consummated. As shown in his characterization of science and metaphysics, Chang Chün-mai was clearly of this opinion, despite the fact that he by no means shared the optimistic view of the omnipotence of science. To him, science was objective to the extent that it was morally neutral and value-free. Here he apparently contradicted himself by subscribing to a negative moral evaluation of science which I shall discuss in the conclusion. Ting Wen-chiang claimed that the distinction between spirit and matter did not exist, yet in substance

he inadvertently shared Chang's view with regard to the "objective" notion of science. Moreover, his conception of subjectivity based on sense perceptions actually reduced everything to personal experience. The only difference between them lay in that while Chang argued that science could not intrude into the area of personal values and beliefs, Ting insisted it could with the help of scientific attitude and methods. It can therefore be said that despite their divergent views on the dominating realm of science, their assumptions of science were actually founded on the same premise that science was by nature objective.

But is science objective? Does its objectivity imply freedom from value judgments? To answer these questions, we return to one of the critical issues brought up in the Ting-Chang debate: can subjectivity and objectivity be separated? My effort to elucidate this problem is primarily based on Michael Polanyi's argument on the same topic.

Polanyi approaches the question of subjectivity and objectivity from an epistemological point of view. In what way do we know things? Is it possible, as Positivists maintain it is, to acquire knowledge in a detached, impersonal way? He tries to establish the concept of a universal order by asserting that man is part of this order and has the intrinsic potentiality to appreciate and discover it. In order to demolish the distinction between subjectivity and objectivity, he shows that science cannot exist independent of human efforts; that science, like any other human activity, is both subjective and objective.

In Polanyi's views, there are two kinds of awareness: focal awareness and subsidiary awareness. The difference

between them lies not so much in the nature of the knowledge involved as in their respective functions. The objects of focal awareness serve as the receivers of our attention which can be explicitly specified. Subsidiary awareness, however, is unspecifiable. Yet it is only through subsidiary awareness that focal awareness is made possible. "We know something focally by relying subsidiarily on our awareness of something else,"²³ said Polanyi. In this sense, knowing becomes an art man performs with skills and connoisseurship. This is true not only on the practical level, for example, riding a bicycle, playing the piano; but also applicable to more professional activities, such as applying a theory, acquiring expertise in certain disciplines etc.. In other words, a personal element is always active in both practical and theoretical understanding.

While subsidiaries serve as the clues pointing to the focal objects and endowing them with meaning which would otherwise be unattainable, we are aware of them only when our attention is not focused directly on them. Furthermore, we can be subsidiarily aware of them only by attending to something else focally. Subsidiary awareness differs from unconsciousness in that it is consciousness existing on a subsidiary level. Its unspecifiability, however, is not necessarily permanent. Subsidiaries can become objects of focal attention. But when thus transformed, these particulars naturally lose their meaning as functioning subsidiaries. Polanyi calls this way of knowing "tacit knowing." In the structure of tacit knowing, the focal awareness is related to the subsidiary awareness by "the act of a person who integrates one to the other."²⁴ Man, subsidiaries, and objects of focal

attention constitute the three essential components in tacit knowing.

As mentioned earlier, in his "Skeptical Idealism," Ting followed the English Empiricist theory asserting that everything beyond sense impressions must be held in doubt for lack of verifiable experiential evidence. If we apply Polanyi's theory of knowledge to this kind of skepticism, its whole premise would be immediately refuted. Skeptical empiricists based their argument on the assumption that all knowable knowledge can be reduced to experience. While stressing the importance of sense impressions and experience, Polanyi, however, shows that they do not constitute everything in the human knowing process. There is always something we can only "dwell in" but are unable to specify on the explicit level. In the case of relativity, for example, for a long time after it was discovered, it remained a theory unverifiable as against our empirical knowledge. Yet scientists accepted its validity with a touch of intuition and confidence which was based upon a storage of unspecifiable professional knowledge. Also Polanyi holds that within this structure, things perceived by the senses do not necessarily conform to what things are in reality. As in the case of several particulars bearing simultaneously on the focus and giving it an entirely different appearance as well as meaning, they may already have undergone phenomenal transformation. Polanyi gave the example of looking at a pair of stereoscopic pictures. He found that looking separately with only one eye at a time and with both eyes together presented completely different pictures. In other words, joined together, two particular stereo pictures produce a joint image on our visual sense. In the

words of Polanyi, "such phenomenal transformation is a characteristic of from-to knowing. In this manner the coherence we see in nature has an actually new sensory quality not possessed by the sense perceptions from which it is tacitly created."²⁵ The transformation effected by tacit knowing may exist on three levels: the functional, the phenomenal, and the semantic. These three can be found either separately or jointly. In order to rebut Empiricism, all we have to do is simply to demonstrate that sense impressions as such are quite unreliable and that in the knowing process there is a very important component involving sensory qualities that cannot be made explicit and therefore cannot be reduced to mechanistic, deterministic, and "objective" formulations. Also the application of our sense impressions in the acquisition of both everyday knowledge and expert knowledge can only be performed as an art subject to personal evaluation existing on a subsidiary yet real level.

After refuting the myth of the "objectivity" of science by destroying the distinction between subjectivity and objectivity, Polanyi addressed himself to the question of how subjectivity can be justified not only in personal, but also in impersonal terms as well.

In *Personal Knowledge*, Polanyi argues that all aspects of personal knowledge including exact sciences, skills, and connoisseurship, clearly demonstrate the "act of knowing includes an appraisal; and this personal coefficient, which shapes all factual knowledge, bridges in doing so the distinction between subjectivity and objectivity. It implies the claim that man transcends his own subjectivity by striving passionately to fulfill his personal obligations to universal

standards."²⁶ This short paragraph contains two important points: first, there is a certain standard in the universe which has universal appeal and obligates everyone toward achieving it. Second, this universal standard of excellence can only be reached through personal appraisals, personal beliefs, and personal commitments, thus cannot be reduced to either mere measurements or logical inferences.

Order, in this context, is not an absolute concept. Rather it is meaningful in relation to randomness. Also order can only be revealed through man, through his ingenuity in identifying various orderly patterns. In order to accomplish this, he must first of all realize the chance involved for this order to be found to exist in the midst of chaos, because "the conception of events governed by chance implies a reference to orderly patterns which such events can simulate only by chance."²⁷ Hence human endeavor in striving toward universal order involves a sense of relying on man's evaluation in contrast to chance. In other words, it is exactly in the fact that things cannot happen in a predestined way considering all the probable routes they might have taken that the existence of an order is confirmed. As a result of these orderly patterns in terms of improbability, it can be inferred that order cannot be derived from sensory experience despite the fact they provide clues which, through personal indwelling, make the discovery of an order in the universe possible. Also it cannot be contradicted by experience for the very same reason. That human beings exist in this world confirms this order, but it is conceivable only in consideration of the improbability that human lives may take shape.

It is important to note that though personal assessment of this order in terms of chance is indispensable in revealing the objective truth, this personal element can be justified only when it is subject to impersonal rules and standards, otherwise it would only remain on the subjective level. Contrary to what Chang Chün-mai thought, scientific investigation does not merely pay allegiance to objectivity in its misused sense. Objectivity must be justified on the basis that it does not connote impersonality and detached reasoning; rather it is at one with subjectivity. In this sense, science is anything but merely objective or subjective. It is the interaction of both that makes scientific truth reachable. Objectivity is meaningful only within the context of subjectivity and subjectivity can be fulfilled only through a constant effort to transcend itself in reaching toward the objective truth. In every stage of scientific investigation, from selecting research topics, conducting experiments, making inferences, to reaching conclusions, scientists are guided by a sense of excellence which they impose on themselves and try to meet with the help of their intuition and personal judgment. These intuition and assessments are unspecifiable but nevertheless form an essential portion of man's drive to reveal the order of the physical nature in a world governed by chance.

III. SCIENTIFIC LAWS

Closely related to the controversy of subjectivity and objectivity are questions concerning the universal validity of scientific laws, the nature of scientific theory and its relationship with the concept of causality. As Chang Chün-mai

divided reality into two parts: that of natural phenomena and that of human affairs — the former characterized by regular patterns, the latter by human will — he had little restraint in endowing science with the ability to predict. It is to be noted, however, that what Chang termed as science referred specifically to the pure sciences, typical of which were Physics and Chemistry. He was rather skeptical of the degree of objectivity Biology and Psychology could achieve, yet did not deny the possibility that there was a certain degree of “objectivity” obtainable in terms of reaching scientific laws in these fields. Chang himself was somewhat confused on this point. On the one hand, he stuck to the notion that science was identified with objective laws; on the other hand, he would find that when pressed to the limit this impersonal interpretation of science would leave no room for Biology and Psychology in the scientific realm. Chang was apparently reluctant to push his thesis this far. In fact he was well aware that psychologists like G. E. Miller and Fechner had already claimed to discover scientific laws in experimental Psychology. And in Biology, Darwinism was embraced with enthusiasm by many Chinese intellectuals at the time, often attracted by its idea of progress. Chang’s solution of this problem was to differentiate between physiological Psychology and pure Psychology. Experimental Psychology, relying on the senses and the activity of brain nerves, dealt with subjects primarily “objective” in nature; while pure Psychology concentrated on ideas which were abstract by nature. As for the Darwinian evolutionary theory, he adopted the European Idealist argument saying that it explained only why some species

failed to survive, but not why there were those who made it. In sum, he was rather ambivalent about the categorization of the sciences, and chose to make the differentiation in terms of degree of “objectivity.” Hence, Physics, Chemistry, and Mathematics were among the most scientific disciplines, for they studied objects characterized by uniformity. Biology was more “objective” than Psychology which in turn surpassed the philosophy of life in terms of reaching scientific laws.

In discussing objectivity in terms of uniformity, Chang made a mistake when he accorded to scientific theory the ability to predict in the sense that there was a necessary relationship between cause and effect. This misconception led to many confusions and contradictions in his arguments. For instance, though he refuted the deterministic notion of Darwinism, he actually subscribed to a deterministic conception of science. It is obvious that in his attempt to cope with the problem of objectivity, he treated all branches of science in a sweeping manner without taking account of their differing natures.

In general, Chang’s discussion of scientific theory was vague and random. Ting, on the other hand, being a geologist himself, showed more interest in this subject. While Chang was prone to distinguish science from non-science on the basis of its subject material, Ting argued that what made science universal was not its subject matter, but scientific methods.²⁸ Here scientific methods referred to classification through induction and deduction. As Ting maintained, “scientific method is nothing but classifying the facts of the world, arranging them in order, and then using the simplest, clearest statements to sum

up these facts, these are called scientific laws."²⁹ In other words, in his mind, scientific laws did not necessarily represent an affirmation of the natural order; they were simply devised by people for the purpose of convenience in understanding. The discovery of scientific laws therefore came not as a process making contact with reality, but was simply stipulated by human experiences the acquisition of which was based mainly on sense impressions. That this assertion owed its origin to Pearson is clearly shown in the following paragraph:

A scientific law is related to the perceptions and conceptions formed by the perceptive and reasoning faculties in men; it is meaningless except in association with these; it is the résumé of brief expression of the relationships and sequences of certain groups of these perceptions and exists only when formulated by man.³⁰

Restricted by the "perceptive and reasoning faculties" of man, scientific laws as defined by Pearson were far from prescriptive; rather they were descriptive. Mach was the first person who interpreted scientific laws not in deterministic causal terms, but confined them within the sphere of description. After Mach, Pearson held that there were two kinds of natural laws; the civil law "involving a command and a duty," and the scientific law as "a description, not a prescription."³¹ Under this classification, scientific laws could claim logical necessity which allowed them to be revised, repealed, and replaced by new ones in accordance with the "perceptive and reasoning faculties of men." Furthermore, as pointed out by Pearson, as science progressed, more comprehensive

formulas were needed to describe more and more complex phenomena. In this sense, the old formulas were not necessarily wrong, but merely incapable of fulfilling their original functions in describing complex facts in the most economic terms. Ting therefore held that because scientific laws were conveniently devised to explain the phenomenal world, they were subject to changes whenever contradicted by newly discovered facts. This denial of any inherent causal necessity to scientific laws, according to Ting, was the fundamental difference between science and metaphysics. All metaphysicians, said he, were set on establishing a "closed system" and treated their own system as the fundamental laws.

All this leads to an interesting point in Ting's arguments, that is, scientific laws have no governing power over facts. However, in arguing against Chang's point that Physics, following a routine pattern, could predict future happenings, a feat which could not be achieved by biological and psychological laws, Ting reached a conclusion not exactly in line with his previous contention. He asserted that there was ample evidence showing that scientific laws could predict. He gave three examples in applied Biology, Genetics, and Economics to demonstrate the predictive capability of scientific laws. He claimed that he could calculate the temperature of a malaria patient; that in the cross-fertilization of a golden-corn and a white peeled one, Mendel's genetic laws would enable us to foretell the number of the white ones and the golden ones; that World War I vindicated the prediction made by Norman Angell concerning post-war economic chaos in his book *The Great Illusion*. Because Ting failed to clearly

define the term "prediction" and discussed it in the context of probability, his argument, which was primarily based on the above examples, gave the impression that, contrary to his earlier assertions, aside from logical necessity, there did exist a causal relationship between scientific theories and actual happenings. Ting refuted Chang's assertion that the philosophy of life was most un-unifiable by arguing that simply because the philosophy of life had not yet been unified did not mean that it could not be unified forever. His skepticism led him to follow Thomas Huxley in demanding "evidence whenever facing assertions or isms."³²

Here Ting committed one of his fundamental errors in that he tried to extend empirical logic to the domain of formal logic. Also he did not grasp the true essence of scientific laws. Underlying this contention was Ting's confused notion about the physical sciences and the natural sciences.

Following Stephen Toulmin's characterization of physical sciences and natural sciences, the essential difference between them lies in that physical sciences, also called pure sciences, such as Physics, Chemistry, and Mathematics, are devoted to explaining the nature of the regularities as found in the natural world. What physicists, chemists, and mathematicians are interested in, however, is not to describe how these regularities take place, but to *explain* the way they are. Unlike physical scientists, natural scientists deal with a given world and try to *find* regularities in it. In addition, scientific laws such as those of Physics, Chemistry, and Mathematics do not speak in universal terms; rather they are what scientists find out in conditional terms. It would be overstraining the

power of scientific laws to take them out of the specific circumstances under which only a relative exactness can be expected. As a result of this, Toulmin distinguished between mathematical exactness "with which inferences are drawn in Physics," and practical exactness "with which the conclusion of these inferences can be applied to the systems physicists study."³³

Under the condition that scientific laws are both limited and circumstantial in formation as well as application, it would be impractical to conceive them as either bound by experience or replaceable. Thus despite the fact that Einstein's relativity theory proved the inadequacy of Newton's law of motion, it did not replace it; instead it only showed that there is a limitation of the range to which Newton's Law is applicable.

Although it is true that scientific discoveries originate from a desire to solve problems related to human experience, these discoveries can only be accomplished on the logical level and in idealistic terms. Experiences serve as subsidiaries in formulating problems, doing researches, and drawing conclusions, but they are not the only foundation for establishing scientific laws. Scientific predictions can only be made with exhaustive qualifications. As long as qualifications within the limited circumstances are not specified in total, there is always the possibility that these predictions may go astray. As it is virtually impossible to exhaust the conditions even within a limited circumstance, absolute prediction is therefore beyond what scientific laws can possibly cope with. Given that scientific laws are applicable only to conditional circumstances, reducing them to the level of

experiences, which are varied and diversified, amounts to doing injustices to both human experience and scientific laws.

What about laws in the natural sciences, such as Botany, Biology, and Psychology? Ting asserted that prediction was not entirely impossible in these fields. As stated earlier, natural sciences distinguish themselves by taking the world as it is for subjects of study. The purpose is to find regularities in the world of experience. How these regularities are formed is not part of the concern of natural scientists. Here laws are formulated primarily by observing the natural world. As Polanyi points out, animals, plants, and human beings existed long before botanists, biologists, and psychologists began to take interest in them. Hence it can be said that laws in the natural sciences are derived from human experience and perceptions. They shared a common feature with physical laws in their limited range of application. Limited as both are, there is nevertheless a fundamental difference between them; the former is limited because it is formed in ideal circumstances, the latter because of its direct derivation from the experiential world. It is to be noted here that in the natural sciences, laws draw their sources from past experiences, yet, like physical laws, they should not be applied to make absolute predictions. This is because the interaction of miscellaneous factors in the empirical world would very likely make prediction based upon these laws quite incompatible with what may actually happen in the future. The only prediction possible is a statement made in probable terms, for probability statement can never be contradicted by experiences. In speaking of probability, one should bear in mind that

probability statements would never be as objective as statements of probability.³⁴ While statements of probability may present the ratio of the chances a certain phenomenon would occur, probability statements are meaningful only when they are put in a personal context, without personal assessment, probability itself will hardly mean anything. On the other hand, the fact that laws in the natural sciences are mainly based upon accumulated data makes them more congenial to the past than to the future. To a great extent, they are confined by experience. Since experience can never be completely exhausted, as long as there is new experience coming in, these laws cannot be used to make prediction applicable for future events. In the same vein, laws in the natural sciences cannot be subject to verification, because laws referring to things happening after the laws are formulated and laws based on accumulated data belong to different categories and should not be equated. Laws can only serve as guides in our evaluation of future events, and they must be under the constraint of personal evaluation.

In this light, it is obvious that Ting used the natural sciences as his model in discussing scientific laws without considering the limitations involved in their applications. His slogan "Prove it!" appears rather powerless in view of the fact that the whole theory can be refuted by even one single incidence of disagreement in experience. His argument that merely because the philosophy of life had not been unified did not mean it could not be unified at all reflected his confusion about the specific category of experience and its relationship to scientific laws.

While Ting contended that everything

could be subject to the analysis of scientific methods, he failed to notice that the concept of classification and induction implied no stipulation whatsoever. That things of diverse characteristics can be categorized under the same class has puzzled philosophers ever since the time of Plato. The indeterminacy inherent in classification is something which has to be reckoned with in discussing scientific laws. Plato tried to explain it in terms of an ideal form compared with which individual units are "imperfect copies."³⁵ Polanyi, however, argued that since tacit knowing could integrate particulars into a joint picture and endow it with a meaning emerging only in the focal point, the concept of class not only has no binding power over its particulars, but is itself open to all particulars, including those that were, are, and will be. Therefore, said Polanyi, "the joint meaning of a class is an aspect of reality, for it points to yet unrevealed joint properties of its members."³⁶ Here particulars serve as the subsidiaries which, through tacit integration by men, point to a focal meaning which is not to be derived directly from the subsidiaries, rather it exists on its own with an open texture. Such is the true meaning of classification. It is not as Ting Wen-chiang maintained that one could deduce particulars from the "empty" class. Despite Ting's awareness that scientific laws had no binding force in the practical sphere, his notion that the unity of science lay not in its subject matter, but in its methods gave classification undue credit and contradicted his denial of causal relationship between scientific laws and empirical facts.

Deduction was also cited by Ting as an essential part of the scientific

method; but, like induction, it has its limitation in providing explanations. As mentioned earlier, Ting and Pearson emphasized the descriptive nature of scientific laws over their prescriptive nature. But the questions are to what extent can scientific laws be descriptive and what are the roles descriptions play in making scientific laws possible. As Michael Scriven points out, "description of actual physical events and scientific laws are usually not related deductively and it gives a twist of the role of laws; they often serve as the starting point from which we survey the events, looking for the non-conformists, not only as the rules under which we try to bring them."³⁷ By distinguishing between explanation and grounds of explanation, Scriven comes to the same conclusion as Polanyi did in saying that it is only through personal assessment of the conditions in which physical events happen that human beings can possibly reach an explanation of these events. Explanation identified with objective deduction and induction would not carry us very far without a personal evaluation of the grounds of explanation. Description through sense impressions can hardly provide satisfactory explanations if divorced from human understanding. Thus scientific method has no claim to objectivity in leading toward a unified world-view. Not only are scientific laws far from omnipotent, they are limited both in scope and application. As a result, in their respective interpretation of scientific laws and the related problems of causality and predictions, Ting and Chang gave undue credit to scientific laws.

IV. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

When Chang Chün-mai characterized

Western civilization by materialism, he was expressing one of the basic misconceptions of the Chinese people toward science: confusing science with technological development. Ever since China's first contact with the West, few Chinese had a clear notion of the differences between science and technology in terms of their nature and effects. Though there had been a growing awareness that something more than material advancement was behind the technological achievements of the West, still many Chinese shared Chang Chün-mai's view that the excessive growth of materialistic wealth caused by "science" in the West was responsible for its spiritual decline. Ting Wen-chiang, while opposing the view that science should answer for the destruction brought to Europe by World War I, nevertheless maintained that industrial development was based upon scientific discovery.³⁸ It can be said that Ting's understanding of science as compared with technology, though more sophisticated than Chang's dualistic view, did not really hit the point. The following is an analysis of the relationship between science and technology to show that not only can science not be confused with technology, but scientific discovery is not necessarily the moving force behind technological and industrial development.

Polanyi argues that there is a fundamental difference between the "conceptual framework" of science and technology.³⁸ First of all, science sets as its goal the pursuit of truth. It is mainly to satisfy an intrinsic desire to reveal the order of the universe that the scientist dedicates himself to scientific adventures. Whether the discovery has any practical value is not his concern, at least not the motivating concern behind his dedication; instead, his

commitment to true knowledge overrides all other concerns. In contrast, knowledge with an application potential would not be judged by its intrinsic value, but by the practical effects it produces in terms of success or failure. In line with this demarcation, Polanyi listed three categories of observable things whose values are defined by their "participation in practical performances." — 1. materials, 2. tools, 3. processes. They share a common character in that all three of them are "intelligible only within the framework of a useful performance which they successfully serve."³⁹ In other words, the value of their existence lies not so much in themselves as in their utilitarian purposes which must be proved by success on the empirical level. This criterion of evaluation is utterly alien to pure scientific knowledge in which everything is performed without considering its applicability; rather the truth and beauty of knowledge itself serve as ample ground of justification.

In addition, the distinction between science and technology can also be analyzed from the perspective of their logical structures. Technical knowledge involves an unspecifiable element dominated by operational principles. While operational principles can be specified, they serve mainly as the clues pointing to a focal point which is the human action in order to prove the usefulness of the operational principles. In technical knowledge, operational principles are equivalent to a "conditional imperative." They provide practical information for carrying out a certain action. But in practice, they are just like the tools people use to do household jobs, which are to be dwelled in so as one can become aware of something else on which he focuses his attention.

Their value of instrumentality surpasses any value justified on its own terms. In order to perform a job successfully, operational principles must be manageable. In this regard, specifiability is one of the essential qualities of manageability; operational principles must be specifiable in order to be unspecifiable to achieve successful performance. Thus, besides successful performance, materials, tools, and processes are also defined by their operational principles. The reason is that successful performances must rely on the degree of subsidiary awareness of operational principles which in turn depend on a thorough absorption of rules on the explicit level.

In pure sciences, there are also symbols, like those in Mathematics and Physics, serving more or less the same function as operational principles. They function as the tools to be mastered before they can bear meaning on something else. The only difference is that their acceptance hinges on whether it would lead to true knowledge or not. In fact, the crucial point involved here is also what distinguish discovery from invention. In the words of Polanyi:

The difference between scientific knowledge and an operational principle of technology is recognized by patent law, which draws a sharp distinction between discovery, which makes an addition to our knowledge of nature, and an invention, which establishes a new operational principle serving some acknowledged advantage. New inventions rely as a rule on known facts of experience, but it may happen that a new invention involves a new discovery. Yet this distinction between the two will still hold; only the invention will be granted protection by a patent and not the discovery as such.⁴⁰

Invention arises from experience, yet it must be able to transcend the known facts and provide new operational principles. These new rules, however, do not necessarily have practical value justifying themselves as technical knowledge. Other factors have to be taken into consideration. As mentioned before, technical knowledge is defined in terms of successful performance and the advantages it brings to mankind. But these successes and advantages are not stated in absolute terms; rather they are standards subject to external changes. The so-called successes and advantages can be interpreted differently in different times, from different perspectives, and conditioned by different material conditions. Scientific knowledge, on the other hand, stands above these transient limitations of practical considerations. Hence the abuse of nuclear power does not have to discredit the value of the discovery of uranium as a physical element. In fact, there are many discoveries in the scientific field which hardly produce any direct practical benefits at all, yet scientists are no less enthusiastic in making efforts to find them, simply because practicality is not part of their concern. As it is, the transient nature of technology makes it fall into a different value system from that of science.

Different as science and technology are in theoretical terms, in actuality, the lines separating them are often blurred. The result is that scientific discovery sometimes effects a kind of technological development not intended by scientists themselves. Perhaps the most famous example of this is the development of the atomic bomb which put an end to World War II. In what Polanyi calls the "conflict of values,"⁴¹ scientists sometimes find themselves held

responsible for certain consequences not part of their commitment.

It cannot be denied that between pure science and pure technology, there is an overlapping area occupied by two intermediate fields. Polanyi calls them "systematic technology" and "technically justified science."⁴² Systematic technology owes its credit to the benefits brought about by the systematic formulation of a technological theory. It is theoretical only within its limited technological application. But like all the technical knowledge, it draws life from the successful coordination of external conditions. For instance, electrotechnics and the theory of aerodynamics belong to this category.⁴³ The technically justified science, on the other hand, stands closer to scientific knowledge than technology in that it possesses an interest of its own despite its technological value. It is technically justified, but not technically bound. Thus the changes of external conditions would not affect its legitimate place in the scientific field. The scientific study of coal, metal, cotton, etc. is of this nature.

Although some scientific discoveries may lead to technical advancement and promote materialistic well-being, the former should not be construed as the necessary condition of the latter. Just as technological knowledge is determined by a practical purpose and subject to external changes, so does its formation reflect the convergence of various factors confined within a specific temporal and spatial framework. The Industrial Revolution of the seventeenth century, contrary to what people usually think, was not the product of the scientific breakthrough of the previous century. Although scientific advancement may have some effects on technological

development, the two are not necessarily related. Take the invention of steam engine for example. It provides new operational principles to make life easier. People undoubtedly benefit a great deal from this invention, but the practical enjoyment of this new device does not add any new knowledge in the same sense as scientific knowledge to its beneficiary. A well-trained mechanic may master it efficiently without understanding the theoretical principles behind its actual operation. As suggested in the discussion of the systematic technology, the demarcation between technology and science does not imply an exclusive relationship between the two. Technology may use certain scientific theories either explicitly or implicitly. But no matter how it applies theoretical knowledge, these theories are used as a means to achieve material benefits, not as ends in themselves.

With the rapid development of modern technology, pure science suffers greatly from its lack of practical values. Scientists find it increasingly difficult to justify science on its own terms. As a result, technically justified science attracts more interest and attention and is often mistaken for science. In this context, the primary goal of "science" is to serve mankind. Actually, science does satisfy a specific need of mankind, only it is a need deeper and less transient than material needs. Under the pressure of taking experience as its guide, science is taken away from its anchorage and risks losing its original ground of justification, i.e. paying allegiance to truth rather than usefulness and application.

The debate between Ting Wen-chiang and Chang Chün-mai centered on the problem of whether or not science should be held responsible for the catastrophe

in Western Europe that resulted from World War I. In their defense and denunciation of science, neither Ting nor Chang presented his arguments based upon a thorough consideration of technology and science in their own terms. Their arguments, as a result, were more assertive than argumentative. Ting held that factors other than technology were what caused the disastrous warfare in Europe. As Charlotte Furth said, Ting's conception of science was very much in the context of geology with which he was most familiar as a geologist. To him the conflict of values between science and technology did not even exist. They were identical in serving the good of human beings. Thus, asserted Charlotte Furth, "little in his own research experience hinted that these theories might not always match in practice."⁴⁴ As it is, the distinction between science and technology was analyzed in terms of personal intentions and practical values, but never in terms of their respective conceptual framework and logical structure.

V. CONCLUSION

Since the Chinese debate on "science and metaphysics" undertaken almost sixty years ago, tremendous changes have occurred in the field of both scientific theories as well technology. This has brought about much contemplation and many insights into the field of the philosophy of science. Given the time and historical constraints prevailing during the 1923 debate in China, it is perhaps only fair to say that our discussion of the debate has benefited greatly from historical hindsight and the contribution of philosophers of science who set for themselves the task to bridge

up the gap between what is subjective and what is objective.

One of the crucial points in the arguments of the 1923 debate which still intrigues us today is perhaps what caused Ting Wen-chiang and Chang Chün-mai to share similar conception of science despite their many other divergent views. Did they owe their views on science and metaphysics directly to the Western Idealism and Skeptical Positivism, or were they more constrained by their indigenous concerns, tradition, and cultural background, sometimes on an unconscious level? At the turn of the century, in her transition from traditional to modern society, China was torn between forces of the West and the East, the old and the new. A strong sense of agony was most acutely felt by Chinese intellectuals who were pushed and pulled by these two forces. In the case of Chang Chün-mai and Ting Wen-chiang, whereas the impact of contemporary Western thought cannot be taken too lightly, there is, however, sufficient evidence pointing to the second possibility. As Charlotte Furth has incisively observed, in their arguments, Ting Wen-chiang and Chang Chün-mai had transformed what was primarily the debate between Idealists and Determinists in Western Europe into one imbued with Chinese implications. Very often their debates were carried on in a strictly Chinese context which took the same form as the long-standing contention between Sung Neo-Confucianism and Ch'ing Empiricism.

Compared with most of their Chinese contemporaries, Chang and Ting were among the few intellectuals whose contact with the West was more direct and reflections more extensive. Yet it turned out that their relatively deep under-

standing of Western culture did not exempt them from the traditional mode of thinking which dominated most of the Chinese iconoclasts during the May Fourth era.⁴⁵ Their mode of thinking represented an attempt to solve the problems of China from a holistic approach with major emphasis put on ideas and cultural rejuvenation. People might draw from diverse resources, indigenous or foreign, but they all shared the same belief in ideas as the only means to free China from stagnation and weakness. That Chang stood in the traditional conservative camp did not make him an exception. As reflected in his repudiation of science, his approach to the problem regarding the role and effect of science in/on society as a whole was very much related to the traditional Chinese organic world-view. The same could be said of Ting Wen-chiang. His defense of science against metaphysics was consistent only in the context that science was part of an organic whole.

It is both significant and revealing that their debate on science and metaphysics should revolve around a central theme "Can science solve the problem of the philosophy of life?" Both Ting and Chang argued with an intention to convince their readers that science could/could not dominate human life. In formulating a proposition like this, they had assigned a moral function to science. Implied here is the notion that science is either spiritually uplifting or it is morally degrading. This is obviously contradictory to either Chang's or Ting's conception of science as being objective or materialistic, although their stances on this subject are full of ambiguity and self-contradictions. To a certain extent, it is also incompatible with the basic English skeptical Empiricist tenets

with which Ting associated himself.⁴⁶

The question whether science is morally neutral or not can be discussed on several levels. In the history of scientific discoveries, as Thomas Kuhn maintained, the change of scientific paradigms often entails a fundamental transformation of the cosmic view, such as in the case of Copernicus's heliocentric paradigm. But it must be pointed out that scientific investigation *per se* is of a neutral character. In pure sciences such as Physics and Chemistry, the activity of the objective world will not be affected by human knowledge. What scientists are able to do is to understand the natural world, but not to change it in the fundamental sense. This by no means denies the value of scientific researches in what Kuhn called "normal science," nor its bearing on human life. In general, however, this kind of scientific research, i.e., normal science, is confined within the experiential realm, that is, in following a certain paradigm, its meaning is by and large given; rather than self-sustained. Although normal scientific discoveries may be affected by personal values and beliefs, their very nature as part of a continuous process following a specific paradigm does not require the kind of intensive exertion of effort in upholding certain values and beliefs as is often the case with major scientific discoveries.

Does this then imply that major scientific discoveries have more moral implications than normal scientific discoveries? The answer is that if science can ever be said to be endowed with morality, it is a morality inherent in the order of the universe, not in the sense of its empirical implications. The morality of scientific adventure, if any, belongs to an entirely different category

from that in the ordinary sense. It is a kind of morality justified by its very identification with the order of the universe. This order is moral not in the social conventional sense of being good or bad, right or wrong. Rather its imperative lies in its contact with reality, which means people cannot but obey when confronted with it. It is in this sense that Plato asserted that true knowledge obtainable through reason and intelligence will lead to goodness and wisdom. Hence Copernicus rejected the Keplerian geocentric cosmic view for heliocentrism for no other reason than that the latter commanded more rationality and provided more intellectual satisfaction.

Then in what way is science related to moral judgements in the ordinary sense? It can be said that in doing scientific research, the moral sense of integrity on the part of scientists will make them abide by their professional ethics in the pursuit of knowledge. It will lead them away from deception and self-indulgence. This attitude reflects a genuine sense of morality and certainly has no small impact on the research work. But in the ultimate sense, this impact has its limitations both in degree and scope. In other words, the strong moral sense of scientists does not guarantee that they will be able to make major scientific breakthroughs. Besides morality, that requires extraordinary intellectual capacity supported by a strong sense of commitment to transcend the moral neutrality of science and lay claim to a higher level of morality in a realm where truth and morality are one and the same. On the other hand, that the results of scientific studies may be used for immoral purposes should by no means incriminate science as such. Science cannot be held responsible for the effects

it produces.

Following the above classification, it is clear that the moral assertions made by Ting and Chang for science focused primarily on the secular moral function of science which can only be justified in terms of the value judgments of scientists and the unintended effects produced by science, and left the higher category mostly untouched. They claimed for science a domain where there is really not much science could do. It is true that scientific discoveries can affect the lives of people and change their value orientations. But in making that statement, we refer to the effects of science which are imposed from without, not science itself. It is also undeniable that people's value judgments may affect scientific investigation to a certain extent, but their attitude should not be interpreted as implying the ethical values of the research involved, nor functions of being good or bad. In short, scientific enterprise claims a different category of morality.

For the Western mind embedded in a tradition projecting human desires and thoughts onto an order created by a transcendental God who created the world and then left it, this distinction of the metaphysical and the experiential does not pose a problem. Since the early Greek period, the duality of the universe as dominated by two orders, one of reality and one of phenomena, had been widely accepted. But within the Chinese tradition, these two orders are closely interwoven. The concept of Heaven is inseparable from the concept of Man. In his discussion of the concept of rationalism in China, Benjamin Schwartz points out that the Confucian rationalism differs from the various forms of rationalism in the Greek tradition

in that in China the cosmic order and the human order are not cut into two separate parts; rather they are united under a "elaborate normative rules of behaviour (li)":

What we have here is the image of an all-embracing and inclusive order which neither negates nor reduces to some one ultimate principle that which is presumed to exist. Like the rationalism of bureaucracy, it classifies and subsumes the existent reality. It is a synthetic rather than an analytic conception of order.⁴⁷

As it is, the social, political, cultural, and moral order are organically united under the concept of Universal Kingship based upon the Mandate of Heaven. Thus the Chinese people tended to accept the existence of a comprehensive order and harmony in the natural world and interpreted them in terms of experience, not metaphysics. It is man's duty to perform his role well so that the order, both cosmic and human, may be maintained rather than disrupted. The relationship between man and nature is therefore one of harmony. Nature is out there for man to discover, not to confront, least of all to conquer.

In the West, the so-called law-metaphor that a Supreme Being dwells in nature has been a generally accepted truism ever since ancient Greek times. Westerners do not question the existence of a natural order; unlike the Chinese conception of order as inherent in men as well as in nature, they conceive a divine scheme ordained by a rational Supreme Being. Before the Renaissance revived the Greek humanitarian tradition, human knowledge was confined within a certain limit. Under the teachings of Christianity, knowledge was considered a divine

gift. The dichotomy between divine and human knowledge was not discarded until men were acknowledged as the essential element in the act of knowing. What followed was the Cartesian philosophy which placed man in the center of the universe. The divine will was then replaced by human reason. In the process, the concept of a divine lawgiver, however, does provide the conceptual foundation for drawing the line between the phenomenal and the noumenal worlds. Once human reason is given a proper place in the pursuit of knowledge, under the presumption that the universe is created by a rational Supreme Being, the logical conclusion that laws of nature are accessible to men is easily reached. Although with the rise of Positivism science was eventually credited with more power than it deserved, the antithesis between men and nature constitutes the fundamental mechanism enabling men to undertake to reveal the mystery of the universe.

The Chinese organic world-view, however, is by and large incongruous with this antithetic perception of the universe. To be sure, Neo-Confucianism did make the demarcation between Li and Ch'i, Heaven and Earth. But as Thomas Metzger says, this distinction "did not amount to a rigorous dualism. Even with Chu Hsi, this distinction was always combined with a strong belief in the immanence of the metaphysical in the experiential."⁴⁸ As it is, these two realms were not conceived in terms of a diverse nature based on different justification of authority as in the West. Rather they are two sides of the same coin; together they constitute a whole. What this involves is a process of becoming, with the ultimate goal set as

being one with Heaven (*T'ien-jen-ho-i*). The emphasis, instead of being placed on revealing the objective order, is focused on the moral cultivation of the individual because the meaning of the universal order is to be found in the moral man.

One of the direct consequences of this organic world-view¹ is to approach problems from a holistic perspective, asserting that various aspects of human affairs are structurally interrelated under the encompassing power of ideas. It is exactly this mentality that underlies the approach of Ting Wen-chiang and Chang Chün-mai to science. From proposing the spiritual rejuvenation of

China to advocating scientific methods as a means to solve problems, the discrepancy between their arguments is actually nil; they differ only in content, not in the basic conceptual scheme. Their deification of science, despite their completely different perspectives and with various qualifications, reflects their inability to separate science from morality which in the context of the Chinese organic world-view is part of the whole. This proves to be a misinterpretation of science as well as a conflation of the relationship between science and morality.

NOTES

- ¹ Edgar Zilsel, "The Genesis of the Concept of Physical Law," *The Philosophical Review*, LI, No. 3 (1942), pp. 247-258.
- ² *Ibid*, p. 267.
- ³ According to Kuo T'in-t'ang's *The Development of the Conception of Tien-Tao in Pre-Ch'in Period* (郭鼎堂：先秦天道觀之發展), based on 卜辭, the word "Tien" (Heaven) in Ying dynasty refers to things which cannot be trusted as related to the Supreme Being. The personalized God is called "Shang Ti" in the same sense as the Hebrew God. "Tien" first appears during the transitional period between Ying and Chou dynasty. In the Chou dynasty, the concept of "Shang-Ti" was replaced by that of "Tien."
- ⁴ Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1962), Vol. 2, pp. 526-530.
- ⁵ *Ibid*, Vol. 3, (1959), p. 173.
- ⁶ *Ibid*, Vol. 3, p. 171.
- ⁷ D. W. Y. Kwok, *Scientism in Chinese Thought: 1900-1950*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 21.
- ⁸ *Ibid*, p. 21.
- ⁹ Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol. 2, pp. 533-543. By Natural Laws it refers to those laws having a universal appeal to men everywhere, thus more tinged with a social and customary character. Laws of Nature refer to the generalization of the physical world.
- ¹⁰ Yin Hai-kuang, *Yin Hai-kuang Hsien Sheng Wen Chi*, (Taipei: Kuei-kuan Publishing Company, 1970), Vol. 1, pp. 483-484.
- ¹¹ Chang Chün-mai, "The Philosophy of Life" *K'o Hsueh Yu Jen Sheng Kuan*, (Shanghai: The Oriental Book Company, n.d.), p. 1.
- ¹² *Ibid*, pp. 4-9.

- ¹³ Ibid, p. 4.
- ¹⁴ Ting Wen-chiang, "Metaphysics and Science — in Reply to Chang Chun-mai," *K'o Hsueh Yu Jen Sheng Kuan*, pp. 33-34.
- ¹⁵ Karl Pearson, *The Grammar of Science*, (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1937), p. 18.
- ¹⁶ Ting Wen-chiang, "Metaphysics and Science: Critique of Chang Chün-mai's 'Philosophy of Life' ", *K'o Hsueh Yu Jen Sheng Kuan*, pp. 12-13.
- ¹⁷ Pearson, p. 45.
- ¹⁸ Ting Wen-chiang, "Metaphysics and Science: Critique of Chang Chün-mai's 'Philosophy of Life' ", pp. 12-13.
- ¹⁹ Charlotte Furth, *Ting Wen-chiang*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), p. 109.
- ²⁰ Ting Wen-chiang, "Metaphysics and Science: Critique of Chang Chün-mai's 'Philosophy of Life' ", p. 20.
- ²¹ Ting Wen-chiang, "Metaphysics and Science — in Reply to Chang Chün-mai," p. 34.
- ²² Michael Polanyi, *Personal Knowledge*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 8.
- ²³ Ibid, p. 33.
- ²⁴ Michael Polanyi, *Meaning*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975), p. 38.
- ²⁵ Ibid, p. 35.
- ²⁶ Polanyi, *Personal Knowledge*, p. 17.
- ²⁷ Ibid, p. 36.
- ²⁸ Ting Wen-chiang, "Metaphysics and Science: Critique of Chang Chün-mai's 'Philosophy of Life' ", p. 20.
- ²⁹ Ibid.
- ³⁰ Person, p. 73.
- ³¹ Ibid, p. 77.
- ³² Ting Wen-chiang, "Metaphysics and Science — in Reply to Chang Chün-mai," p. 22.
- ³³ Stephen Toulmin, *The Philosophy of Science*, (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1960), p. 70.
- ³⁴ Polanyi, *Personal Knowledge*, p. 25.
- ³⁵ Polanyi, *Meaning*, pp. 51-53.
- ³⁶ Ibid, p. 53.
- ³⁷ Michael Scriven, "Explanations, Predictions, and Laws" from *Minnesota Studies in the Philosophy of Science*, ed. by Herbert Feigl and Grover Maxwell, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958), p. 213.
- ³⁸ Polanyi, *Personal Knowledge*, p. 175.
- ³⁹ Ibid.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 177.
- ⁴¹ Ibid, p. 178.
- ⁴² Ibid, p. 179.
- ⁴³ Ibid, p. 179.
- ⁴⁴ Furth, p. 117.
- ⁴⁵ Lin Yu-sheng, *The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness*, (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1979), pp. 26-55.
- ⁴⁶ Skeptical Empiricists would leave everything beyond customs and experiences in doubt.
- ⁴⁷ Benjamin Schwartz, "Transcendence in Ancient China," *Daedalus*, Spring, 1975, p. 59.
- ⁴⁸ Thomas A. Metzger, *Escape from Predicament*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), p. 82.

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The Return of the Ghostwoman: A Critical Reading of Three Sung *Hua-pen* Stories

Chingkiu Stephen Chan

(陳清僑)

太平之世，人鬼相分
今日之世，人鬼相雜

In time of peace, (wo)man and ghost are kept apart;
in a world like ours, (wo)man and ghost mingle freely.

— Cheng Yi-niang
in *hua-pen* "Strange Encounter"

In this paper, I shall argue that the Chinese *hua-pen* 話本 stories under discussion, on the level of a socio-ideological myth, are agents of a subtle displacement of the dominant ethical order under the existing patriarchal system. They are the displacement of an order, one may say, under the constant surveillance of the very same order itself. They are the misplacement, perhaps, of the patriarchal norm in the "female abode" of a preternatural underworld, the realm of the non-human. They are the place, the non-place, where the woman as ghost would emerge in an instance of aberration, a moment when the audience would be seduced into doubting (while embracing) the "natural" authenticity of the "normal" establishment in society. For it is through processes of cultural formation such

as the *hua-pen* storytelling activities, which are themselves the signification of chains of social and ideological activities, that basic human contradictions are often broken down, sublimated, and re-assembled into more desirable collective images and illusions of a more habitable place, a more harmonious universe. "This is the case with mythology," argues the structuralist critic Roland Barthes, "it is a part both of semiology inasmuch as it is a formal science [which treats stories as signs of culture], and of ideology inasmuch as it is an historical science [which reads stories like they are histories of culture]; it studies ideas in-form."¹ This peculiar approach to "mythology" or any other study of cultural texts by Barthes is rooted in his understanding of "myth" as a higher order of cultural sign-language

— a “meta-language” of culture that absorbs and transforms the primary system of sign commonly shared by the public on an everyday level of practice. In this sense, therefore, the *hua-pen* storytelling activity may be considered a second-order “mythic” reality which is built upon, and speaks about, the first-order everyday reality of (in our case) women in traditional China. It is my contention that as such a specific cultural process, the performance and reception of *hua-pen* stories in the Northern Sung Dynasty (960-1126) manifests a significant socio-ideological function of myth in its transformation of collective motivations into permanent justifications (hence the reality of women), and in its displacement of culture and history into nature and narrative (hence the tales of ghost).

I. INTRODUCTION: HUA-PEN STORYTELLING AS CULTURAL PRACTICE

Until recently, the *hua-pen* has often been taken as “prompt-books” used by professional storytellers in the Sung Dynasty time. But contemporary scholarships have significantly modified this view. As a result, it would be more appropriate to say that today we regard the *hua-pen* as a specific genre of vernacular stories that prevailed in the Sung (but also Ming) dynasties. Though it is no longer possible now to identify the *hua-pen* stories as “prompt-books” of storytelling, there is little doubt that their existence and popularity were rooted deeply in the storytelling tradition which reached its golden age during the period of the Northern and Southern Sungs. No matter what one’s theory about the origin and development

of the *hua-pen* turns out to be, it is seldom disputed that the group of stories generally known as *hua-pen* was to become a major precursor of Chinese fiction (*hsiao-shuo* 小說) later during the Ming and Ch’ing dynasties.

The practice of storytelling (*shuo-hua* 說話) was a very popular form of public entertainment and probably the most active medium of mass communication in the urban centers of China during a period of general prosperity lasting for hundreds of years from the 10th century through the 14th century. The rapid growth of mercantile economy in the imperial and provincial capitals of the country allowed marketplaces to develop into busy and dynamic channels for business, cultural, and ideological exchanges among the average citizens. In virtually every season of the year, the marketplaces would be crowded with people from all walks of life, merging into a polyphonic space of collective cultural actions and interactions, actively (if not always consciously) trying to sell and buy their ideological shares of the social discourse. Within this socio-ideological delimitations of the marketplace, the particular space of performance in which many *hua-pen* stories were told and listened to was known to the public as *wa-tzu* 瓦子 (entertainment park) *kou-lan* 勾欄 (performing booth). But even inside this specific area reserved for popular cultural performance and entertainment, the storytelling activity was only one among many different practices of everyday life in which citizens came to participate on a regular basis. Through a critical analysis of this mode of cultural formation, it is therefore possible to reach the ideological subtext of the dynamic everyday realities without which

no stories could be told, listened to, and passed on from one consciousness to another.

Tales of Women and Ghosts

Some formal characteristics of the *hua-pen* stories must now be mentioned briefly before we proceed to reread the text of specific tales. Since they were originally designed for the entertainment of the general public, the language of most *hua-pen* stories is largely colloquial, thus accounting in part for their tremendous influence on the development of the Chinese vernacular fiction in subsequent centuries. Within the frame of the vernacular narrative, however, there is also the wide-spread use of idiomatic verses and rhymed passages of popular interest. This, together with the frequent borrowing of stock formulaic expressions, can be considered the dominant features of the professional storytelling rhetoric. Also for the purpose of professional and rhetorical efficacy is the inclusion, at the beginning of each story, of a short prologue which may or may not be directly related to the theme or event of the main feature story. This was again a device initially designed by the storytellers to entertain the audience who arrived early, but subsequently conventionalized into a generic element of all forms of the *hua-pen* tales.

The kinds of story presented in the performance booths of the marketplace ranged from love stories, supernatural tales, and religious legends, to historical stories, detective and law-court tales, and accounts of battles and wars. Their specific definitions within the storytelling tradition remain a topic too complex to be treated in a few words in our

context. It suffices to note that the stories which we shall discuss here all belong to the category of *yen-fen ling-kuai* 煙粉靈怪, or tales about women and spirits of the extraordinary.

* * *

The story "Strange Encounter in the Northern Capital" ("Yang Ssu-wen Yen-shan feng ku-jen" 楊思溫燕山逢故人 or Yang Ssu-wen meets an old friend in Yenshan) is preluded by a brief account of the Lantern Festival, opened and closed on each end by a refined *tz'u* poem, with which the storyteller was obviously trying to evoke in the contemporary audience a resonance of the grandeur that once swept the nightly air in Pienliang, the Eastern Capital of the Northern Sung Dynasty (960-1126). After the brief introduction, in a typical manner of storytelling, the narrator led his audience directly into the main story of Yang Ssu-wen: "Today I'll tell the story of a gentleman . . . who . . . has to see the New Year lanterns at Yenshan [the Northern Capital of the Nuchen Tartars, who conquered Pienliang in 1127, forcing the Sung capital to move south to Chinling (present-day Nanking), thus marking the beginning of the Southern Sung reign (1127-1279)]."

It was New Year, and a lonesome and homesick Yang went out reluctantly to see the Lantern Festival events in Yenshan, where he stayed in involuntary exile after the Sung capital of Pienliang had been taken by the Tartars. On the street, he caught sight of a group of women entering the Chin Pavilion, built in imitation of the famous Paifan Pavilion in Pienliang. He recognized from her appearance that a certain woman dressed in purple costume must have

come from the Eastern Capital, but lost track of her whereabouts in a moment of nostalgia. The next day, he went back to the Chin Pavilion, saw the same woman entering the huge mansion after a large carriage, and identified her as Cheng Yi-niang, the wife of his sworn-brother Han Ssu-hou. With the help of a waiter in the Chin Pavilion (who had worked in the Paifan Pavilion of Pienliang before the fall of the Sung capital), Yang arranged to meet Yi-niang. When she came, she told Yang the story of her exile from the Eastern Capital after the arrival of the Tartars. She described how she escaped with her husband on a boat, which was then caught up by the Tartar troops. Since then, we are told, she lost contact with her husband, and was eventually brought to Yenshan to work as a maidservant for the Tartar General.

On his next visit to the Chin Pavilion, Yang found out that the waiter who came from the Eastern Capital had already left, and read on the wall a poem recently written by someone who had just arrived in Yenshan from Chinling to mourn his dead wife. Yang was amazed when he learnt that the poem was actually signed by his friend Han Ssu-hou. He immediately went to see Han, who was indeed staying in Yenshan on a diplomatic mission to negotiate a peace agreement with the "barbarian" Tartars. Yang was shocked to hear from Han that, during the period of her captivity in the Tartar camp, Yi-niang cut her own throat in defiance of a rape attempt by a Tartar general.

As their stories about Yi-niang did not correspond with each other, a final trip had to be made to the residence

of the Tartar general in order to clarify the whole mystery. What the two friends discovered — a ruined and empty mansion occasioned by no visits but those of a strange old couple — confirms the audience's suspicion that the adventure story probably belongs as much to Yang as to "an old friend"; for, as the original title of the story suggests, the whole adventure is actually a tale about "Yang Ssu-wen meeting an old friend in Yenshan." In fact, this is the point where Yang's story has almost come to an end, though we are only about halfway through the entire narrative. As the old couple led Han to the casket of his wife's ashes, Yang reminded his friend to perform the proper sacrificial offerings before lifting it up. In no time, after this was done, Yi-niang's ghost appeared. Much moved by his wife's demonstration of courage and integrity in preserving her chastity for his sake, Han proposed to move her remains back to Chinling and promised that he would never marry again. Yi-niang urged that Yang be the witness to her husband's oath, while Han vowed that if he should ever break his promise his boat would capsize under huge waves. As the ritualistic offerings were being performed, Yi-niang vanished in a gust of wind.

Soon, Han said farewell to Yang, and carried Yi-niang's ashes back to the south. On his way he met a beautiful nun whose former husband had been killed by the Tartars on the river. Han eventually married this woman. Thereafter, she ceased to mourn for her dead husband and Han ceased to go to his wife's grave. The grave-keeper complained with tears of her husband's infidelity before Yi-niang's grave. Yi-niang showed her power and took

possession of Han's new wife. To save himself, Han hired laborers to dig up the grave of his former wife, and threw the casket containing her ashes into the river. He and his new wife were then temporarily left in peace. Later, however, when travelling in a boat, Han and his new wife heard the boatman singing a song with verses written by Yi-niang. A storm broke on the river, and both of them were drowned.

* * *

In "Chang, the Honest Steward" ("Hsiao fu-jen chin-ch'ien tseng nien-shao" 小夫人金錢贈年少 or The young wife gives cash to a young man), Old Chang was the wealthy owner of a thread store, run by two stewards hired by him to manage the everyday business. Since the old man's wife had died and left him with no children, he wanted to remarry. Rich as he was, he expected to find a rich, beautiful and talented woman as his new wife. The match-makers arranged for him the youngest concubine of a local general named Wang, who was willing to give the "little wife" away because he had lost interest in her. On the wedding night, Old Chang was delighted but the young bride was most unhappy, knowing that she was now to be left helpless in the thread store with an aging patriarch.

Bored, the young wife spent her long days watching the activities of people in the store and on the sidewalks from behind a drawn door-curtain just outside the gate of the Changs' residence. She was immediately attracted by Chang Sheng, the younger steward who had been working in the store for Old Chang for over ten years. On their first meeting, the young mistress gave Chang Sheng ten gold coins as gift. She sent him

more valuables when, after store hours, Chang Sheng was on night duty alone in his room. The next day, having told his mother what had happened to him in the store, the filial son took his mother's advice and left his job.

One day, during the Lantern Festival, Chang Sheng wanted to see the lantern show in the evening. His mother reminded him not to pass by Old Chang's house so as to avoid unnecessary trouble. Despite his promise, he got lost in the crowd, passed by unknowingly the front gate of Old Chang's thread store, and discovered that his former master had been arrested and his shop closed down. Then he was told someone would like to see him in a nearby inn. When he arrived there, he found the young mistress, dressed carelessly and with rather unkempt hair, relating to him a story about how Old Chang had been convicted for forgery in making silver. Now that Old Chang's properties were all confiscated by General Wang, she said she had nowhere to go, and begged Chang Sheng to take her home with him. Chang Sheng initially refused because he thought that such an act would definitely cause rumors to spread around. In addition, he was certain that his mother would not permit such a thing to happen. But when the young mistress took out a string of one hundred and eight pearls, Chang Sheng could no longer resist the temptation. He took the woman home, cut one pearl off the chain and sell it, and opened a store of his own.

Spring came, and one day Chang Sheng met Old Chang while he was on a trip. The old man told him that he had been unjustly punished by the general, who was looking for a string of one hundred and eight pearls presumably

stolen by "the little wife" from his household. The woman, on hearing the news that the general had found out about the stolen pearls, hanged herself that very day. Horrified to learn about the story, Chang Sheng returned home to ask the ghostwoman to spare his life. The young mistress made up a story to deny that she was a ghost. But when Old Chang came to see Chang Sheng, "the little wife" vanished all of a sudden. Feeling certain that the woman was indeed a ghost, Chang Sheng turned in the remaining pearls to the general, received a pardon from him, and continued to lead a dignified life as the honest young man who was able to resist the seduction of woman and sex.

* * *

In the opening section of "Artisan Ts'ui and His Ghost Wife" ("Ts'ui tai-chao sheng-ssu yuan-chia" 崔待詔生死冤家 or Candidate Ts'ui and his life-and-death partner), Prince Han left his military commandership aside temporarily and went out to enjoy the spring. On his way, he saw a beautiful girl and asked his officer to approach her parents. He learnt that though she grew up in a poor family, she was very good at embroidery. When the final arrangement was made, the girl's parents in effect sold her to the prince, who made her a maidservant and gave her the name of Hsiu-hsiu. One day, the prince received a precious warrior's robe from the emperor. Hsiu-hsiu embroidered another robe with the same pattern, thus earning much praises from the prince. The prince then summoned all his jade carvers and showed them a piece of translucent jade, asking them what it could be carved into. A young man named Ts'ui

Ning suggested that it be carved into a *kuan-yin*, the Buddhist goddess of mercy. Two months later, the artwork was finished, and the prince proudly presented it to the emperor in return for his warrior's robe. As a result, Ts'ui was promoted. Later the prince even betrothed Hsiu-hsiu to him, promising to arrange for their marriage as soon as Hsiu-hsiu's term was up.

When spring arrived again, a fire broke out one day near the prince's residence. As Hsiu-hsiu was running out of the house with her valuables, she bumped into Ts'ui and asked him to help her escape. When they subsequently arrived at Ts'ui's house, she wanted food and wine to calm herself down. At this point, a saying is quoted by the narrator: "Spring is the master of flowers, and wine is the catalyst of lust." Hsiu-hsiu now reminded Ts'ui of the prince's promise to arrange for their marriage. She even suggested that they "became husband and wife" that very night. Ts'ui was non-committal at first, agreed to accept her proposal on the condition that they would run away from the prince's sphere of influence. Hence, they eloped to Hsin-chou; but Ts'ui was still concerned that the place was too close to the capital. Eventually, they moved further away to T'an-chou, where Ts'ui put up a sign "the Jade Carver from the Capital" and resumed his work in exile. His business prospered quickly.

A year later, their whereabouts was discovered by the prince's guard Kuo Li. Very soon afterwards, they were brought before the furious prince, who would have them killed instantly had he not been reminded that since the incident took place in the capital, the royal city, everything must be done

according to the proper rules. The prince then had Hsiu-hsiu taken to the back garden, and Ts'ui sent to the local tribunal for punishment. Ts'ui subsequently made a confession, claiming that it was Hsiu-hsiu who trapped him into the elopement. Prince Han sentenced Ts'ui to banishment in Chien-k'ang and closed the case. On his way to exile, Ts'ui was joined by Hsiu-hsiu, who offered to follow him as far as he would go. Ts'ui, again, consented to her suggestion rather indifferently. When they arrived in Chien-k'ang, Ts'ui was able to continue working as a jade carver.

Meanwhile, the emperor broke his jade *kuan-yin* and wanted it repaired. As he discovered the words "Made by Ts'ui Ning" at the bottom of the artwork, he aured edict the prince to summon the jade carver Ts'ui. As a result, Ts'ui was rehabilitated and could now live in the capital with dignity and security. But one day Private Kuo Li came to Ts'ui's new shop and saw the man living happily with his wife Hsiu-hsiu. Terrified by what he saw, Kuo Li rushed to the prince and reported that he had encountered the ghost of Hsiu-hsiu, whom the prince had beaten to death in his own back garden. The prince would not believe this, but ordered her arrest if what Kuo had claimed to have seen was indeed real. When the private came to lift up the curtain of the sedan chair after its arrival at the prince's residence, he found that Hsiu-hsiu had disappeared already. The prince was much irritated, and had Kuo beaten fifty times on the back. Ts'ui Ning was then summoned for questioning; found innocent, he was soon released. Realizing now that his wife was a ghost, a frightened and depressed Ts'ui returned

home, not knowing what exactly to do next. Hsiu-hsiu, meanwhile, was sitting on the bed, waiting for her man to come home. And when he did return, he was clearly told that she indeed belonged to the nether world, and was involuntarily dragged away to become her ghost-husband.

Aberrations of the Ghostwoman

A casket, a coffin, a crowded restaurant, a deserted mansion, a store in the marketplace, a graveyard in the wilderness — these could all be the physical dwelling places for the ghost-woman. Yet, "spiritually," she is everywhere, everywhere *he* would expect her to be: out from the water, out from the fire, visiting the Lantern Festival, visiting his bedroom, visiting his dream. She *is* also the rare moment when the audience would be tempted, for a while, to put at stake the desirability of all the authentic patriarchal figures under the Confucian system — the Son of Heaven, the scholar-official, the husband, the father, the patriot, the artist, the decent and honest shopkeeper, the lonesome but restless adventurer. And the temptation for her to rise from the nether world is great, especially in time of crisis, such as the one which marked the transition from the Northern Sung (960-1126) to the Southern Sung (1127-1279) dynasties. In the twelfth century, when the existing social order was undergoing re-adjustment and reintegration, and possibly as a result of the increasing difficulties in consolidating the male supremacy at this juncture in history, an instance of aberration emerged. Through the mediation of the story-telling activity, it provided an opportunity for the (ghost) woman



to stray temporarily from the mainstream of social practices, thus attempting to activate a somewhat noncompromising mode of discourse (still male-centered notwithstanding) otherwise perhaps inconceivable.

In one way, such an argument may lead to the conclusion that, through the disguised, mediatory agent of the ghost, the female aberration would eventually be transposed and reaccommodated into the dominant system. There is a real possibility that the (ghost) woman would be transformed into the embodiment of an even more idealized image of the patriarch. The chastity which she is often made to embrace, for example, cannot be meaningfully understood without the ultimate reference to the ideological powerhouse deeply rooted in the capital city of the empire. And, ideally, at the center of the royal palace the patriarch's throne should never fail to stand.

It was natural that the emperor stood always at the top of the power hierarchy. In "Artisan Ts'ui and His Ghost Wife," the jade *kuan-yin* (the Buddhist god Avalokiteshvara) is presented to the emperor as a gift, and throughout the story it remains the symbolic emblem of his virtue and authority. Moreover, in time of exile and distress, the jade carver Ts'ui can still manage to return to the capital as an imperial artisan only because of the jade *kuan-yin*. And interestingly enough, though the *kuan-yin* is customarily regarded as the goddess of mercy, according to the original Buddhist mythology "she" is actually a male god.

The emperor does not appear in "Chang, the Honest Steward," but his

presence is indirectly represented by General Wang. Under the overt power of the patriarchal authority, the ghost of the young mistress is made functional in re-affirming the "virtue" of her beloved Chang. A similar high-ranking official is also found in "Artisan Ts'ui." Here, Prince Han is portrayed as the dominant patriarch from whose authority the couple Hsiu-hsiu and Ts'ui Ning try to escape. And while in her runaway from the opportunities of a normal marriage Hsiu-hsiu's resources are obviously limited, the prince is almost unlimited in his authorized lust for women as for power. What is so unique about Hsiu-hsiu is that her ghostly spirit can somehow fly beyond the constraints of the system to run after her beloved one till he has to follow her into the netherworld.

In a different way, therefore, the female ghost is also conceivable as the aberration beyond the normal confines of institutionalized social practices. And it is only at the margin of normality that she may, for better or for worse, exercise her power either in disorienting the established system of social ethics or in mainstreaming the unwanted deviations back to the normal line of order. Symbolized by the emperor himself, this order is recognizable as the source of an invincible set of moral codes from which she — the (ghost) woman — would be temporarily released, her services mercifully terminated, and her previously nullified consciousness cast infinitely away. Is she to return? Would she be reinstitutionalized? As a "spirit," does she have the freedom to choose her own way of "life"? Or is the woman always bound to obey the established order of the patriarchal system for as long as she lives, and when

she dies, to lend herself — her “non-self,” her “spirit” — to practising “justice” in the name of *pao-ying* 報應, or “destined retribution.”

The PAO Principle

According to Lien-sheng Yang:

The Chinese word *pao* as a verb has a wide range of meanings including “to report,” “to respond,” “to repay,” “to retaliate,” and to “retribute.” The center of this area of meanings is “response” or “return,” which has served as one basis for social relations in China. The Chinese believe that reciprocity of actions (favor and hatred, reward and punishment) between man and man, and indeed between men and supernatural beings should be as certain as a cause-and-effect relationship, and, therefore, when a Chinese acts, he normally anticipates a response or return.²

In translating the more specific concept of *pao-ying*, I prefer to use “destined retribution” rather than the more commonly adopted term “divine retribution.” As Yang has suggested, the Chinese are worldly rationalists who always want to “bring Heaven down to earth rather than lift man up to the heights above”; as a result, “divine retribution and worldly retribution are believed to work hand in hand, the former supplementary to the latter.”³ Hence, *pao-ying* taken as a semi-sacred, semi-secular principle of destiny is often responsible for the just reciprocation of every social behavior and event. As a moral principle it is also immanently inscribed in the everyday practice of the people. Thus, with respect to family relations, the *pao* principle not only works on the basis of the institutional

system, it actually legitimizes and strengthens the proper operation of the system itself. (Hence, filial piety is both a virtue and an obligation; in short, it is the rule.) As a mediatory agent, *pao-ying* becomes the all-purposeful matchmaker that always tends to bring the regularities and aberrations of the social order into a happy union.

W. L. Idema has said that “the concept of *pao-ying* as the structuring element in [Chinese] fiction means a radically new departure in literary fiction in the middle of the sixteenth century.”⁴ I believe that this is a far too conservative estimation by Idema. Recently, in a structuralist study of a Yüan (1280-1368) drama *Tou-O yüan*, Sai-hsing Yung valued highly the function of *pao-ying* as the mediation between order and chaos, between normalities and deviations.⁵ I think that a similar argument could be made in the case of the *hua-pen*, though my interest here lies more in the ethical issues relating to the marital institution and the social relations between the sexes. One important task for us, I suggest, is to account for the ideological subtlety of the fact that, like filial piety for the men, chastity for the Chinese women is often considered as much an obligation as it is a virtue. The questions we may then ask are: To what effects does the *pao* principle function in the traditional marital institution? How successfully does it activate, reinforce or consolidate the operation and ideology of the patriarchal system? In what ways, if any, is it possible to exploit the *pao* principle as the mediation between normalities of the male piety and aberrations of the female idiosyncrasy?

In the theoretical overview to an anthology entitled *Women, Culture and*

Society, M. Z. Rosaldo has observed that, in most societies, women are often regarded as "something anomalous." Rosaldo writes: "Insofar as men, in their institutionalized relation of kinship, politics, and so on, define the public order, women are their opposite. Women are simply women and their activities, interests, and differences receive only idiosyncratic note."⁶ Now if the re-institutionalization of what I call the "female aberration" could be exploited in support of the *pao* principle, then the system of values which structures the everyday practices of *pao-ying* might eventually be recognized as the original powerhouse that gives "life" to the woman's "ghost."

The ghostwoman, therefore, is almost the direct opposite of the man-god — almost, that is. Suppose "secularization" is taken to mean the loss of a myth most highly treasured by the man-god, and "sacralization" to denote the emergence and accommodation of a new, sacred order in life, then what becomes fascinating about the *hua-pen* stories is that they often embody a process of re-sacralization soon after the leading "adventurer" is revealed to have been secularized. Even more important for us is the tendency that, in many instances, this re-sacralizing act always involves the intervention of the female idiosyncrasy, the ghostwoman. And the *pao* principle is almost always functional in bridging the gap between the sacred and the secular moments of life.

The YU Motif

In the light of the aberrant intervention of the ghostwoman, my attempt is subsequently to investigate the

structural and ideological relationships between the collective system of values and the function of *yu* 游 (journeying) as a narrative motif. It is essentially an attempt to contextualize some crucial spatial and temporal relationships in the *hua-pen* narratives in the hope of highlighting the major links between the *pao* principle and the (quasi-archetypal) *yu* motif.

Yu in Chinese means, as a verb, to journey or to travel for the sake of pleasure-seeking. It also forms the root of compound words like *yu-jen* 游人 (the traveler) and *yu-tzu* 游子 (the wandering voyager). A sense of "play" is quite often embodied too, as in *yu-hsi* 游戲 (play, games, to play games) and *yu-lo* 游樂 (to play, to have fun). In *hua-pen* stories, *yu* is frequently associated with the seasons, as in *yu-ch'un* 游春 (to take a trip in the springtime); with seasonal festivities, as in *yu-yüan-hsiao* 游元宵 (to visit the Lantern Festival in celebration of the first full moon of the year); with natural sceneries, as in *yu-shan* 游山 (to take a trip to the mountain); and with cultural activities, as in *yu-chin-ch'eng* 游京城 (to visit the capital city) or *yu-miao* 游廟 (to visit a temple).

In "Artisan Ts'ui," for example, having been understood as an abrupt disturbance of the normal social order, the outbreak of the fire is a signal for the formation of a major *yu* motif. Under such circumstances, it is conventional for a man to take reasonable advantage of the incident in order to fulfil some private aspirations of his own. To travel, in this case, is to run away — with a good cause. Hence, one would accept easily Ts'ui Ning's plight in running away from home. On a structural level, as we can see, the

expected behaviours of the male protagonist accord fairly well with the regular functions of the *yu* motif, thus defining the conventional roles of the adventurer in the narrative. On an ideological level, however, the implication of the *yu* motif becomes more disturbing, as the audience learns that it takes a woman, not a man, to initiate, lead and complete the whole runaway adventure. But the aberration is not merely a matter of stylistic or formal idiosyncrasy; it is directly related, in this particular case, to the ideological deviance suggested by the ghostwoman Hsiu-hsiu's final "capture" of her man. Yet, even that verdict may not be final. For we are told earlier that the marriage between Hsiu-hsiu and Ts'ui is originally pre-arranged by the prince, the patriarch, in accordance with the perfectly legitimate social practices of the time. Overall, the irony is disturbing indeed, and very bitter, too. The crux of the myth, it seems to me, is hidden in the systematic contradiction between possible dislocations of the patriarchal norm and order on the one hand, and persistent re-institutionalizations of the female idiosyncratic aberration on the other.

II. "STRANGE ENCOUNTER"

The tale "Strange Encounter in the Northern Capital" begins with an elaborate passage recounting how the first full moon of the year used to be celebrated in the Eastern Capital (Pienliang) of the Northern Sung Dynasty. Having always convinced himself that he will remain a citizen under the Great Sung Empire, Yang Ssu-wen is obviously much frustrated by the fact that southerners like himself are celebrating the Lantern Festival

(Festival of *yüan-hsiao*, the First Night) in the northern corner of the fatherland, in a capital city under the rule of the "barbarian" Tartars. The nostalgic vision of the First Moon, which he used to admire back in the late capital, is now not only distanced in the remote south, cut off from the present both geographically and politically, it has also been pushed to the very verge of being forgotten by history itself. For who would care to visit a Lantern Festival at Yenshan (the so-called Northern Capital)? Hence, when invited by his brother-in-law to go and see the lanterns, Yang turns moody instantaneously, and laments thus: "After you've seen the Lantern Festival at the Eastern Capital, how could you possibly want to see it here!" Yet, a little while later, even Yang cannot resist the temptation of the festival outside and resolves to take a solitary walk to the lanterns at Yenshan.

Yu-yüan-hsiao, the visit to the Lantern Festival, is therefore also a trip into the past. In spatial terms, it can even be taken as Yang's journey from the Northern (the present) back to the Eastern Capital (the past). During his second visit to the festival Yang follows the carriages that drive a "woman in purple" around town. His trip comes to a stop when our "adventurer" finds himself standing in front of an enormous building into which the mysterious lady vanishes. This huge tower he recognizes as the biggest restaurant in Yenshan, the Chin Pavilion; but like all southerners living in exile there, Yang prefers to see it as the substitute for the famous Paifan Pavilion in the Eastern Capital. The original can now only be recaptured through the mediation of its double. Hence, like the old capital

itself, the pavilion becomes for Yang the always desirable but never retrievable past.

The story which Yi-niang later tells is also one of exile: the exile of a purple lady from the golden past of the Great Sung Empire. Like their sworn brother Yang, Yi-niang and her husband Han Ssu-hou have been forced to leave the Eastern Capital when the Tartars come. But on their way to Chinling their boat is attacked, and Yi-niang is caught and brought all the way north to the Chin capital Yenshan. There, she would rather die than allow herself to become a concubine of the Tartar general; as a result, she has been kept as a maid-servant ever since. Her situation in Yenshan is agonizing, and thus she relates her plight to Yang: "The roads which lead to Chinling are wide open, but no doors are open to release the life within." From the pleasurable touch of *yu* to the far more distasteful flavor of *t'ou* 逃 (escape, runaway), the journey motif itself has undergone a significant transformation.

Yet another variation of the *yu* motif is revealed by Han's diplomatic trip from Chinling to Yenshan. There is a peculiar way in which Han's link with the past differs from the others'. For at Yenshan, those who remember the past find themselves either painfully related or utterly unrelated to the present, whereas for Han, the presence of Yenshan is less a cause for nostalgia than an indication of the urgency for a more politically viable option (such as a diplomatic agreement). The very attempt to efface the social and political antagonism between Yenshan (the Chin capital) and Chinling (the provisional capital of the Sung Dynasty) would certainly be resented by Yang, and

probably also by Yi-niang. Thus, while bringing the possible recovery of peace to the people in Yenshan, Han's embarrassing mission has virtually shattered their dream of restoring the lost glory, dignity and homeland of the Great Sung.

Soon, a new trip is taken, a new version of an old story is to be told. The two brothers, Yang and Han, make a final visit to the Tartar general's residence in the hope of discovering Yi-niang's real identity: Is she a (wo)man or a ghost? After that visit the narrative begins to shift its focus from Yang to Han, and the transition is not merely a matter of plot. In fact, the real significance of Han's own version of the escape story lies not in its suggestion that Yi-niang is perhaps a ghost, but in the strategic grounding it provides for the subsequent establishment of a moral pact, one that would ultimately hold together ideological as well as marital bonds.

The oath Han makes to his dead (ghost) wife in the deserted mansion of the "barbarian" general, his promise never to commit himself to a second marriage, is actually necessitated, we may argue, by the popular belief in the arch-fatal *pao* principle of destined retribution. Here, not only is *pao* a collective *order* of morality, and not only is it pertinent to the specific marital bond between man and wife, but it also attains to the more pervasive *power* of the traditional ethic which dominates the consciousness of the people from Pienliang to Yenshan. As a result, the husband is duly attached to the wife, and vice versa, through the mediation of *pao*, just as the nostalgic exile is always ready to return his loyalty to the country in the name of patriotism.

The ideology of *pao* is here crucial both in regulating the social and moral behaviors of the people, and in evaluating the ethical and political virtues that they stand for.

When she first relates her story to Yang, Yi-niang has said that she would rather die than live a disgraceful life. This point about her chastity is also made in Han's version of the same story. In addition, it is Yi-niang herself who, out of her deep concern for a "clean" name, specifically requests her husband to make the oath before she would let him move her ashes back to the Eastern Capital. What Yi-niang would never realize, however, is the irony that her very name could have been ruined by the same set of norms which has legitimized the *pao-ying* that (people all agree) she now rightfully deserves. Hence, for the first time in her life, she, not her husband, appears to have the right to demand justice. As ghost, she now has the power, the opportunity, to refuse her husband; her "spirit" would not follow him home unless she can be assured that the recognized codes of marital relationships will be persistently maintained as they used to be. In a roundabout way, as we can see, the result of all this turns out to be a reassertion of the very same values that Han never fails to endorse under normal circumstances. Once a husband, always a husband. And the norms in which Han believes are not his own either; they would probably be shared by Yang if only he had a wife himself. The irony of "Strange Encounter," moreover, lies in the fact that the ghostwoman Yi-niang is the one to request the formation of the pact. Inevitably, the *pao-ying* is the vengeance that she readily deserves.

The hitherto exile of her ghost in

Yenshan might have been Yi-niang's way of making a statement on the political as well as ethical (dis)order of the time. Yet, notwithstanding this apparently noncompromising "spirit" of a woman fighting for her dwelling place in the next life, there are few roles for her to play, indeed, beyond the prescribed ones long practised under the system, of which the ideology of *pao* constitutes only a part. In the light of these speculations on the woman as ghost, we may also note the consistency between Han's subsequent betrayal as a husband and his initial mission to Yenshan as a diplomat. It is evident that Han has been sent by the provisional administration at Chinling, not to fight for a restoration of the fallen estates of the Great Sung, but to negotiate on "equal" terms with the "barbarians" at Yenshan. His acceptance of a possible permanent resettlement in Chinling is unambiguously implied both in his holding of a diplomatic office and his marriage to an exiled widow on his way back to the south. By the end of the trip he could have gained two wives, a "real" one as well as a "ghostly" one, had it not been for the retribution promised by the original pact.

The contrast between Han and Yang is also clear. If it takes someone as ruthless as Han to break the normative bond, then we certainly need patriots as indulgent as Yang to defend the values of our traditional ethic. Han's final acceptance of a second marriage and a second empire is, therefore, essentially a denial of the original bond — that marital, emotional, moral, and political bond by which the individual is constituted as social, and the adventurous voyagers returned as loyal sons to the emperor. Han's attempted deviation

from the norm would have been legitimate had he not been "punished" by the ghost of Yi-niang. And it is also in the context of this *pao-ying* that we ought to understand Yang's intricate role in the tale as a witness to the making of the initial bond. His nostalgic obsession with the Lantern Festival at the Eastern Capital is also his "ghostly," "spiritual" preoccupation with the golden past that has been lost. And this insistence on the integrity of the bond with the past is broken when Han brings to Yenshan a disgraceful pledge from Chinling. Fortunately, for Yang, the diplomat never does return to Chinling alive. The power of *pao-ying* is at work, and Yi-niang's revenge is also his own.

The articulation of the various spatial and temporal discontinuities, as we have seen, are well integrated with the central function of *pao-ying* in "Strange Encounter." With what might be called an act of re-sacralization, the "return" of Yi-niang is given form through the introduction of a preternatural, quasi-demonic power. Han's punishment, therefore, has no doubt been made possible under the influence of Yi-niang. Yet, it is not Yi-niang as his wife *per se*, but Yi-niang as the ghost of chastity who has been empowered to speak the words of retribution, to speak in the name of *pao*. In the last analysis, however, her exercise of the *pao* principle is worked out appropriately enough to shun all attempts at confronting moral and political issues with unorthodox deviations. Thus, by the end of the story, the arch-fatal order of *pao-ying* is rightfully re-instituted, if not actually celebrated. The gap between the disgraceful present and the glorious past is mediated, and the

proper distance between Yenshan and the Eastern Capital is justly maintained. On the other hand, time lost is almost always irretrievable: the Chin Pavilion will never become the Paifan Pavilion, and a lantern festival is memorable only if it takes place in the Eastern Capital. Any attempt to stray from these set norms is susceptible to the destined retribution given in the spirit of a ghostwoman, in the name of that well-tamed "spirit" living her lives time and again under the same roof of patriarchy.

III. "THE LITTLE WIFE"

M. Z. Rosaldo has argued that the basic opposition between domestic space and public space can be used to support the "general identification of women with domestic life and of men with public life." Hence, for example, "men who are physically and socially distant from their children may well have political and economic claims on them."⁷ Governed by an established network of power relationships, social distance gives men a way of exerting control over others. "Distance permits men to manipulate their social environment, to stand apart from intimate interaction, and, accordingly, to control it as they wish. Because men can be separate, they can be 'sacred'; by avoiding certain sorts of intimacy and unmediated involvement, they can develop an image and mantle of integrity and worth."⁸

In the tale "Chang, the Honest Steward," all the men are kept at a distance from the women "safe" enough as not to be hurt by them in any way. When General Wang marries off one of his concubines to the thread store owner old Chang, there is certainly no

sign of hard feelings on his part. In fact, he never steps forth as a real character in the tale; his name need only be briefly evoked whenever it is necessary for the narrator to resort to an authoritative figure. Hence, he is free to give away his young mistress when he pleases. And later, we would also realize that his investigation of the stolen pearls is indirectly responsible for the suicide of the young mistress. Similarly, old Chang simply plays his role of a husband, without finding it necessary to establish an intimate relationship with his young wife. His role as husband is already fulfilled after he has owned a household and a business, employed two stewards to work in his store and two go-betweens to find him a wife. Yet, despite all these preparations, and precisely as a result of such standardized arrangements, his very presence has given the young mistress a reason for her deviance. The expression of her sexual desire and the representation of her "misconduct" are indeed made possible by the systematic repression of sex in the marital institution itself. Now though it is obvious that sexual desire is the main concern when old Chang wants to buy a wife and General Wang wants to sell one, the power to express and realize that desire is given to them only as long as their roles in society are properly defined and recognized.

An image of "integrity and worth" is best created by the typical good-natured young man Chang Sheng. Behaving as a traditional gentleman would, Chang Sheng is prepared to observe every established norm of the Confucian ethics, be it honesty, chastity, or filial piety. Thus, soon after he has been approached by the young mistress, he leaves his job to stay home on the

advice of his mother. The inertness with which he reacts to the young mistress and the distance which he manages to create between them help eventually to gain him a name of virtue. Later, when asked by the young mistress (now a ghost he has yet to recognize) whether he would take her home as she has no other home to return to, Chang Sheng's response is again passive. His attitude is clear: he is reluctant to do anything against the will of his mother. Now Chang Sheng's dependence on his mother is significant here, for like most mothers of the traditional family, Chang's mother is always ready to defend all the virtues defined by the Confucian ethics. Hence, for example, in the New Year festival, before going to see the lanterns, Chang Sheng would first seek the approval of his mother. If there is any intimate relationship between mother and son, it is always structured in accordance with an organized set of ethical codes.

On the other hand, we never know exactly whether or not Chang Sheng himself is ever sexually or emotionally attracted to the young mistress. All we can see is that, after her seduction attempts are repeatedly met by his negative responses, he agrees eventually to take her home after she offers him the string of a hundred and eight pearls. Apparently, lust, not avarice, is the thing he always can resist. As we can remember, earlier in the story, Chang Sheng has walked away from adultery at the expense of losing a job. But now, ironically, in bringing the young mistress home he is guided only by his greed, forgetting for a while that his virtuous name may thus be compromised. The resistance to women and sex has given way to the greed and desire for money.

A distance that keeps the two sexes apart is temporarily bridged by the long chain of pearls.

As for the young mistress, marriage means nothing more than moving from one household to another. Her whole marital life has virtually been a series of unrelated journeys, though in reality even making a short trip out of the house is a luxury for her. The fact that her new husband is an old man might have worsened her situation, but it really has not made any significant differences in her life as a whole. Like many other middle-class housewives of her time, almost all of her daily activities are limited within the domestic space of her husband's household. As a result, watching the street from behind a drawn curtain becomes a major activity for the young mistress; it has possibly become the most bearable way for her to pass time through the year, and even on a New Year's Day.

In an interesting study of the interior and exterior space in an urban Greek locality, Renée Hirschon argues that the fundamental dichotomy of the "house" and the "road," the inner and outer realms, is the point of orientation for the interaction between women and the outside world. In the community which she studies, housewives bring chairs onto the sidewalks every afternoon and there their social life has its public expression. "Social exchange takes place through the extension of the inside realm as the chair is moved out onto the pavement." Now even though the Greek women are confined to the kitchen for the most part of the day, the afternoon chair can still provide them with an exceptional opportunity to interact with the outside world. "The chair crosses the threshold, mediates in space,

and provides a bridge between two separate realms."⁹ Arguably, in drawing the curtain through which she sees the world, the young mistress is also drawing a line that separates the external reality from her internal world. It is through this curtain that she would enjoy the festivities of the year; it is through this curtain that she would hunt for honest young men to devote herself to. It is a curtain that both opens temporarily the domestic "house" to the public "road," and shuts permanently the outer from the inner realm. Sitting behind this drawn curtain, she is sitting on the threshold of the world other than hers.

And yet the young mistress never moves her chair onto the sidewalk, as the Greek women do. Towards the end of the tale, when it is finally possible for her to visit the lanterns in the marketplace, she does so only in the name of a ghost. Only as a "spirit" is she allowed, as it were, to cross that threshold; and even then she is only set free to look for the "honest" Chang Sheng — into whose house she would soon return, be confined once again, and disappear forever.

The *pao* principle is evidently at work in this tale, as it leaves basically unquestioned the rightful retribution of Chang Sheng's chastity and honesty. By the end of the tale, he has a thread store of his own, working peacefully without any more disturbances from the young mistress. If his career involves a process of re-sacralization, hers is one of re-institutionalization. It is a virtuous name that she has ended up giving him; yet, right through the course of the tale she has never been given a name of her own.

IV. "THE GHOST WIFE"

In their pursuit of a love relationship the young mistress and Hsiu-hsiu are much alike: both take initiative in expressing their desire to the man they want to love. But whereas the former is confined mostly to the domestic space that has been assigned her, the latter is far more capable of breaking away from the normative constraints of the patriarchy. In this respect, Hsiu-hsiu is as much centrifugal as the young mistress is centripetal in her general orientation in the struggle against the system.¹⁰ In "Chang, the Honest Steward," sexual seduction is never represented. To attract Chang Sheng the young mistress must resort to cash and jewelry; she would not, cannot, make any explicit sexual offer to him. Instead, she decides to make use of her access to the wealth of her husband and her ex-patron so that she can give Chang Sheng as much economic benefit as it is necessary to draw him to her. In "Artisan Ts'ui and His Ghost Wife," on the other hand, Hsiu-hsiu is much more explicit in the expression of her emotion. Taking advantage of the fire that breaks out near her patron Prince Han's residence, she makes overt sexual suggestions to Ts'ui. That night, after they "become husband and wife," Ts'ui decides to run away from the capital, being afraid that the prince will retaliate against them if their private affair is made public. Hsiu-hsiu, for her part, has no hesitation whatsoever in running away with him. For thousands of *li* she would travel with him, in the hope of finding a new life of their own.

The case of elopement is an interesting one here. Both Hsiu-hsiu and Ts'ui Ning hold some sort of established

positions under the prince: Hsiu-hsiu is the beautiful maidservant and embroiderer, and Ts'ui, the renowned jade carver. Both of them display great talent in their work and win the affection of the prince, who subsequently betroths Hsiu-hsiu to Ts'ui. In view of this, it would be possible to think that their union could have been legitimized had they waited more patiently for the final arrangement of the prince. Their present "marriage," quite on the contrary, is definitely inauthentic since they have privatized it without showing due respect to the values of the orthodox marital system, which, in this particular case, is evidently under the surveillance of the prince himself. Consequently, as we can see, what worries Ts'ui is not exactly the fact that he has run away with one of the prince's concubines, but that he has done so without the official consent of the prince.

Aside from his professional skill, Ts'ui has few other personal qualities to boast of. Passive and inert like most of the other men we have so far discussed, Ts'ui lacks the passion of Yang Ssu-wen, the boldness of Han Ssu-hou, and the honesty of Chang Sheng. Though he is the one to propose the elopement, he does so more for himself than for Hsiu-hsiu. Indeed, after the first "love scene" we know little about his emotional attachment to her. Instead, we realize that the farther he strays from the capital, the safer he feels from the expected persecution by the prince. But in no way should this imply that Ts'ui has been able to break away successfully from the dominant power structure. The contrary is perhaps closer to truth. We would realize that, for instance, Ts'ui's title as "The Jade Carver from the Capital" has virtually become his

work permit during the time of his self-exile. The point is: the jade carver belongs to the capital, and it is to the capital that he longs to return. We also know that the jade *kuan-yin* he carves is sent as a gift to the emperor. And it is by virtue of the maker's signature on the *kuan-yin* that the emperor is eventually able to resummon Ts'ui back to the capital. As the emperor's city, the capital is considered the powerhouse of the system in which order and justice are supposed to prevail. It is a system of power hierarchy which even Prince Han is obliged to abide by. The prince has wanted to execute Ts'ui without an official trial, but refrains from doing so because he would rather not risk violating the rules of the game.

Yet, it is doubtful to me whether as a (ghost)woman Hsiu-hsiu has ended up endorsing such traditional ethical values as chastity and loyalty. I think that Hsiu-hsiu's case does not represent a whole-hearted acceptance of the patriarchal virtues. Perhaps more unconventionally than other *hua-pen* stories, I believe, it is a displacement or even disorientation of the established roles of women as structured and disciplined under the existing ideological system. The polemics of the case, it seems to me, is a result of its radical resistance to let the "ghostliness" of the female sex be re-inserted and re-assimilated into the patriarchal power structure. Very different from both Yi-niang and the young mistress, Hsiu-hsiu plays an *increasingly* rebellious role in the course of the tale. And at the same time, again very unlike the ghosts of the other women, Hsiu-hsiu's aberration as ghost never gives way to any serious compromises with the dominant values.

When she finally drags her "husband"

to the netherworld, Hsiu-hsiu does not do so in justification of the *pao* principle. In point of fact, her act has seriously undermined the power of the patriarchal system by showing that re-institutionalization is not impossible to resist. Now Hsiu-hsiu might be directly or indirectly responsible for the death of both Ts'ui Ning and her own parents, but, strictly speaking, she has never paid for what she had done. Indeed, there are not even indications in the tale to show us that she really deserves death as her punishment. On the contrary, her death is depicted more as the result of a ruthless act on the part of the prince. As for Ts'ui Ning, the retribution (for his disloyalty to the prince) has already been realized when he is sent into exile. Later, after he has been pardoned by the emperor, he moves back to the capital to resume his work as a jade carver. In view of the tendency that his career is steadily moving back to the proper track, his death appears to be rather undeserving. What wrong has he done, and what possible retribution is there to counteract this apparent injustice? Such questions, I think, are precisely what the tale has made it both improper to ask and impossible to answer.

Hsiu-hsiu, for her part, wants to revenge herself on Kuo Li, the prince's guard. She does so near the end of the story, and seems satisfied after Kuo Li is beaten fifty times on the prince's order. After that, she shows no intention of doing him any further harm. Moreover, she has done nothing to revenge herself on the prince himself. Instead, she prefers to stay away from the patriarch, play a little trick on his guard, and turn her eyes on someone more important to her. And so the ghost wife returns

home to her husband. But unlike the ghost of the young mistress, Hsiu-hsiu would not leave *her* husband without some last words. Indeed, she would not leave at all without him. Hence, sitting on the bed she waits for Ts'ui Ning to come home. And when he finally comes, he is bound to die a horrible death. Hsiu-hsiu's message is clear: he is the only man she wants. The trip to the netherworld might be terrifying, but so are the obstacles against which women like Hsiu-hsiu must struggle if they want (or do not want) to make their way through the overlying world of men.

V. THE ENDING: WHERE TO RETURN?

Men journey, women st(r)ay, ghosts return.

In "Artisan Ts'ui and His Ghost Wife," the narrative proper is preceded by a series of poems in which different poets attempt to look for different ways of experiencing and expressing the springtime, which, presumably, signifies for them the transient nature of the beauty and happiness of life. But, not uncommonly, the connotation of spring (*chun* 春) is also sexual (*se* 色). It is actually rather conventional to relate springtime to sexual seduction and pleasure; after all, spring could be the best time in the year to enjoy sex. This is perhaps why Prince Han comes back from a springtime excursion with none other than a woman, his concubine/maidservant Hsiu-hsiu. The desire for sex here represents what on another level the desire for power represents. Thus, as Hsiu-hsiu embroiders a warrior's robe in imitation of the one the emperor sends Prince Han as a gift, Ts'ui Ning

carves a jade *kuan-yin* for the prince to "return" the generosity of the emperor. And when the couple attempt to escape from the power hierarchy, their failure is almost pre-ordained because there will always be some *kuan-yin* to draw them back into the system. The journey has the tendency to be circular; by the end, one is either trapped within that circuit, or is dropped out completely from it.

By describing the *yu* motif as quasi-archetypal in this paper, I have meant to suggest that even though it would be possible to view the protagonists in the *hua-pen* stories as mythological adventurers completing the "mono-mythic" cycle of initiation, the rites of passages for the Chinese men and women need not always subscribe to the single logic of separation, crisis, and — in particular — return. Given the constraints of the Confucian ethics, the mythological quest for self-identity in the *hua-pen* stories, as we have seen, is either successfully repressed, or, perhaps more frequently, re-oriented and re-adjusted. In either case, the full implication of journeying can only be recognized when viewed within the context of the patriarchal power structure.

Ideally, the logic of "return" should be able to find its realization in homecoming, reunion and rejoicing. Yet, very frequently, it is equally possible to have the "mythic cycle" wind up in resistance and retaliation. Now to journey, in many cases, is to run away with a cause. And if the beginning of a journey does somehow prepare for its ending, the end may well come back as a reinforcement and justification of the original cause. Thus, to *yu* is to return, and to return is to bring justice

and order to one rank of people by depriving it from another. For journeying is very much a matter of giving and taking, of gaining and losing, in short — of *pao*.

In "Strange Encounter in the Northern Capital," therefore, a lantern festival lost at Pienliang would earn its retribution in another festival gained in Yenshan. Similarly, a lost loyalty (Han Ssu-hou) and an unwanted passion (the young mistress) would be returned respectively by a chastity re-integrated (Yi-niang) and a virtuous name recovered (Chang sheng). But the more important problem that we have to solve is to determine the role of the ghostwoman in the social practices governed more or less by the *pao* principle. And to the extent that the traditional marital institution is held together through the mediation of *pao*, its power and integrity would have to be strengthened and legitimized not solely by the patriarchs high up in the hierarchy, but more pervasively by a common system of values and beliefs that helps structure the everyday practices of the people living under the patriarchy.

One is tempted, therefore, to conclude that what is haunting the people is not so much the ghost of the young mistress, Yi-niang, or Hsiu-hsiu, as the lost name, the lost sex, and the lost identity of the (ghost)women as a tribe.

Yet, the paradox is: the lost name, sex and identity are never stolen by the women in the spirit of their ghosts; in fact, they have never been given by the people to those women. The (ghost) woman does not create the haunting spirits, the man does. Looking at our

three ghostwomen more closely, we find out that they are really not "evil spirits." For one thing, nobody is seriously haunted by the young mistress' ghost; actually, once she is recognized as a ghost by Chang Sheng, she is quick to retreat herself from his view, as if she were ashamed of what she is and what she has done. Likewise, Hsiu-hsiu's ghost is under disguise for the most time. Yet, once she is identified she turns more aggressive than usual. And as soon as she realizes that a normal marital life is impossible for her in this world, she decides to take Ts'ui Ning away with her to some other world. In this respect, Yi-niang is as persistent as Hsiu-hsiu, for both of them succeed in exercising their preternatural power to revenge themselves on their men. Thus, all these ghostwomen intervene in the normal life of a normal man inasmuch as their own "normality" has been intervened in by and interlocked with the life of that very man.

In view of all the expected and unexpected interventions in the "natural" process of the mythological adventure, and in view of the series of problems they have raised for us, it would be useful for any future studies to further investigate the significance of: (i) the *pao* principle as a collective retributive will mediating the oppositions between past and present, order and chaos, happiness and unhappiness, etc.; and (ii) the new imprint of any "self" that would find *his* dwelling place in the neighborhood of the ghostwoman — in that realm of "otherness" without which the very integrity of any hierarchy of power, any socio-ideological structure of value, may well become impossible.

NOTES

- ¹ Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, tr. Annette Lavers (London: Fontana, 1977), p. 112.
- ² Lien-sheng Yang, "The Concept of 'Pao' as a Basis for Social Relations in China," in *Chinese Thought and Institution*, ed. John K. Fairbank (Chicago & London: Univ. of Chicago Pr., 1957), p. 291.
- ³ Yang, p. 291.
- ⁴ W. W. Idema, *Chinese Vernacular Fiction* (Leyden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1974), xxxii.
- ⁵ Sai-hsing Yung, "Tou-O yüan te chieh-kou fen-hsi" 寶娥冤的結構分析 (The Strustural Analysis of Tou-O yüan), *Chung-wai wen-hsüeh*, 12:9 (1984), 50-73.
- ⁶ Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo, "Woman, Culture & Society: A Theoretical Overview," in *Woman, Culture & Society*, ed. M. Z. Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Pr., 1974), p. 31.
- ⁷ Rosaldo, pp. 23-24, 26.
- ⁸ Rosaldo, p. 27.
- ⁹ Renée Hirschon, "Essential Objects and the Sacred: Interior and Exterior Space in An Urban Greek Locality," in *Women and Space*, ed. Shirley Ardener (London: Croom Helm, 1981), pp. 73, 84, 86.
- ¹⁰ Cf. Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, tr. Richard Price (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Pr., 1977 [1972]). Bourdieu suggests that the true principle of the organization of domestic space is the opposition between the centrifugal, male orientation and the centripetal female orientation; in other words, it is a social dichotomy in which "movement outwards towards the fields or the market, towards the production and circulation of goods, and movement inwards, towards the accumulation and consumption of the products of work, corresponds symbolically to the opposition between the male body, self-enclosed and directed towards the outside world, and the female body, resembling the dark, damp house, full of food, utensils, and children, which is entered and left by the same inevitably soiled opening" (p. 92).

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Chinese Poems in Translation

Graeme Wilson

Three in the Morning

"Three in the morning," said the monkey-keeper,
"And four at night-time; that shall be,
That and no more, the chestnut-ration
Which each of you will get from me."

On hearing this, the monkeys vented
Screams of paroxysmic rage:
They hopped and skipped and bared their teeth
And banged on the bar-work of their cage.

"If that's how you feel," said the monkey-keeper,
"Then four in the morning, three at night."
Content, the monkeys smirked to see
How rage can work to put things right.

Chuang Tzu (360 – c.290 BC)

Bird's-eye Views

The swallow and the sparrow see no use
In things that, to the eagle and the goose,
Are plainly useful. It could even be
That from their littleness the little see
Nothing whatever of Immensity.

from the Historical Records of
Ssu Ma-chien (145 – 86 BC)

Homecoming

I was scarce fifteen when the army hauled me off:
Now over eighty, at last they've let me go.

On the road outside I met a fellow-villager
And asked about house and home. Do you happen to know
Who lives there now? At your place? That's it there
Where, from those grave-mounds, pines and cypress throw
Enormous shadows . . .

Hares ran in through the dog-hole:
In the roofless rafters pheasants fluttered around:
Where the courtyard used to be wild millets flourished:
All round the well field-sunflowers stood their ground.

Coarse millet pounded made me a kind of porridge,
And a sort of sunflower-soup made something more.
I served myself. No parents, wife or children
Were there with the help I'd half been hoping for.
I walked through the gate and stood there staring eastwards
As the tears ran down to soak the rags I wore.

Anonymous (early 2nd century)

Self Seeking

Since time began all wise men worth that name
have lived their lives to answer Who am I? ,
To wring Identity from Nothingness,
to wheedle Silence into some reply,
To cram all space within a square of silk
and, from the inch-tight bolt-hole of the heart,
To pour so deep a torrent of true words
that Self might see its answer in its art.

Lu Chi (261 – 303)

Vision

To guard my body from the blight of age
I scoured those heights where magic simples thrive.
By breath-control, by drinking powdered jade,
Within my breast a new me came alive.

I grew immortal, coaxed a team of dragons
To wear my harness so that I might ride
The rolling thunder while, through whirling clouds,
White lightnings flickered from their scaly hide.
I dropped the reins of the charioteer of the sun
And stamped my foot to open Heaven's gate.
Like some small horse's hoofprint filled with water
The ocean gleamed below me, while the great
Hunch of the world's most sky-assaulting mountain
Lay like an anthill in a shaven park.

Enormous sadness filled me as I watched
Earth's aimless turning in an endless dark.

Kuo Pu (276 – 324)

Green Sickness

My hair's a mess no comb could harrow through:
I waste away; but, if I did, who'd care?
Have you any idea how my whole life hangs on you?
Just look at my waist and the sash now sagging there.

Anonymous (5th century)

Principle

Consider the trees thick-thriving on green ridges,
Each standing upright, separately strong:
Consider the birds' sweet singing in the forest,
Each bird pursues its individual song:
Consider, too, fish swimming in the river,
Some cruise at depth, some almost skim along.

The height of mountains dizzies man's understanding:
No mind can sound the vast drop of the sea.
Fools see in things their difference of appearance,
Only the wise their one reality.

Hsiao Yen (464 – 549)

Carnations

Thick-clustering heads, their green stems interlace.
Emitting light, the scarlet blooms bend low.
Always I fear lest dew should prove so scanty
These flowers will fade before their time to go.

I sigh to think it's of myself I'm thinking.
Did I desire to lead this life I lead?
Who was it, in that time before my birth,
That doomed me to existence? Who indeed?

Well, let that go. No words will give the answer.
Why waste good effort on a foolish task.
So long as one conforms with nature's pattern
What need I fear, what questions need one ask?

Wang Chi (c.580 – 644)

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Introduction of Buddhism into China: From Religion to Philosophy

Yuan Heh-hsiang
(袁鶴翔)

The exact date of the introduction of Buddhism into China is subject to controversy. Classical records set several periods ranging from 234 B.C. to 58 A.D.¹ Modern Chinese scholars on Buddhism have suggested a date somewhere between A.D. 58 and 75.² We can thus say that the religion was introduced to China in the later Han period but did not become a philosophy until Chin (A.D. 265-419) and later. Original Buddhism prescribed three basic principles concerning the whole realm of human life including its problems and their solutions. They are: (1) the fourfold truth of life, (2) the eightfold way to solve the problems of life, (3) the ultimate achievement of enlightenment as "nirvana." The fourfold truth is also described by many Buddhists as the recognition of life; however, the secular students of Buddhism defined it as the presupposition of Buddhist philosophy. It suggests (1) that life consists of suffering, though there may be joy and happiness in the daily living experience, such experience lasts only a short while and eventually turns into sorrow when the craving for it becomes obsessive; (2) that since life is full of suffering there must be a cause

for the suffering; (3) that since there is a cause for suffering that cause can be found and destroyed; and (4) that there exists a way to destroy the cause of suffering. The eightfold way forms the kernel of the Buddhist moral discipline, which is also the way of Buddhist life, the strict observation and the metaphysical interpretation of which develop into two major schools of Buddhism — the Mahayana School and the Hinayana School. The concept of "Nirvana" is the core of Buddhist philosophical speculation; the thorough grasp of it is described for the layman as the gaining of intuitive wisdom which gives the individual the proper recognition of the reality and nature of life, and through this view he is finally freed from all impermanence of both empirical and mental existence.

The first recognition that life consists only of suffering is best illustrated by the story of a woman who came to Buddha to ask him to restore to life her child who had just died. Buddha consented but laid down one condition to be observed: the woman must secure a mustard seed from a family that had not endured the painful experience of death. The woman left with great hope.

But as she went from family to family, she discovered that every family had one time or another suffered the pain. At this point the recognition of the universality of suffering dawned upon her and she returned to Buddha enlightened. The story brought out precepts concerning suffering and discussed them with lucidity. Suffering, according to the story, has different degrees, from the lowest of bodily pain to the highest of universal agony. The woman's dire situation points out to us two levels of suffering: (1) bodily, and (2) mental. Death in the physical sense involves the painful experience of bodily disintegration. Buddha's own life story is a sufficient example of this. It was told that Buddha in his days of regal existence, on four different occasions, saw four different phenomena representing the four different stages of physical existence. He saw the birth of a child, a boil-covered beggar, a feeble old man, and a funeral procession. It was after these encounters that Buddha suddenly realized how full of pain and how transitory physical existence was, that life was merely a process from birth through aging and sickness unto death. Once a person realizes, so Buddhism argues, that his existence includes physical pain, privation and discomfort, and perceives within him the ever-burning desire yet the inability to avoid these ills, his recognition of this fact eventually develops into a mental agony that forever gnaws at his heart. Then, only then, he clearly sees the discrepancy between illusion and reality, and his meager ability in dealing with a problem of such magnitude. "Birth, decay and death, which originally were felt as symptoms of bodily suffering, become objects of mental suffering as well — and finally

the symbols of the essential laws of individual life to which we bind ourselves."³ That realization in an expanded form brings man to his third recognition of suffering, namely, as suffering is "no more concerned with petty cares of our own person and own momentary life, it becomes more and more universal and essential."⁴ Buddha's act of renouncing asceticism after his enlightenment shows his thorough understanding of the universal nature of suffering; he thus wanted to go into the world to give it his newly gained wisdom. This act represents the Buddhist sense of compassion.

The second recognition — there is a cause of suffering — observes that life as a phenomenon has two basic tendencies: contraction and expansion, implying unification and growth, respectively:

The faculty of growth depends on assimilation, which may be bodily, as in the case of food, respiration, etc., or mental, as in the case of sense perception, ideas, etc. The faculty of centralization depends on discrimination between the things that are similar or can be made similar to an individual organism or center of activity and those which cannot be assimilated ... Psychologically speaking, it is the "ahamkara," the "principium individuationis," that which says "I" and enables an individual to be conscious of self.⁵

By using these contradicting tendencies within human life, Buddhism argues forcefully that a delicate balancing act by the human body and the human mind (principium individuationis) to regulate the progressive development of the two forces is ultimately impossible. Such a regulating act, it says, demands

a harmonious relationship between the two opposing forces, yet what is centrifugal cannot be made centripetal; "rupa" (matter) is not "arupa" (non-matter), and if we search to transform one to the other we definitely will fail. This is why, it further argues, all intelligent human ideas and efforts attempting to minimize the conflict between the body and the soul fail to present man with a satisfactory answer to his problems of life. One must recognize that the two elements are relative and relational and cannot be separated. In *Samyuktagama* (雜阿含經), the importance of this recognition as the only way to enlightenment is brought out in the conversation between Buddha and his disciples:

Quest.

Who is the creator of this "bimla" (existence)? When and where did he create it? and when will it extinguish?

Ans.

This "bimla" is neither self-created nor created by others. It is created by "hetum paticca" (also "hetu pratyaya" in Sanskrit, meaning cause-effect relationship). Once this "hetum paticca" extinguishes, "bimla" extinguishes too. It is like planting the seed in the field; with the seed, the soil and moisture, crop grows. "Skandha" (five constituents of personality) and "astādaśa dhatu" (the eighteen realms of life)⁶ are all created by "hetum paticca," and they disappear with the extinction of "hetum paticca."

The subject and the object relationship is brought out in another passage in which Buddha said to his followers:

"Bhiksus" (monks), I am now ready to explain to you everything (sabbam). Listen, "Bhiksus," what is all (sabbam)? it is the eye and the color, the ear and the sound, the nose and the smell,

the tongue and the taste, the body and the feeling, the mind and the thought.

By suggesting that the perceiving organs and the perceived objects form a mutually dependent relationship through the sense of perceiving, the passage implies the third recognition, that the cause of suffering can be extinguished.

Since all existence depends on the so-called subject-object relationship and that relationship is relative in nature, Buddhism argues, then it proves that there is no absolute; everything is contingent on something else. The self ("atta" or "atman") is not an absolute existence, neither is the no-self ("anatta" or "anatman"). By this argument it also denies the validity of the Upanishadic theory of the existence of the Universal Soul (Brahman). Since everything is the product of cause-effect relationship, then everything must be relational:

If this is, that is also. If this is born, that is also born. If this is not, that is also not. If this extinguishes, that is also extinguished.

(*Samyuktagama*)

However, in describing this relationship, the above passage also hinted at two possibilities, one suggesting a simultaneous relationship (if this is, that is also), the other a consequential (cause-effect) relationship (if this is born, that is also born). The former is a concept of subjective recognition of the objective existence, and concludes that all things exist only in this framework of subject-object relationship, which is one of simultaneity. The latter discusses all relationships in a cause-effect sequence, in which change of things is constant

and so is change of relationship. Within the realm of worldly existence, Buddhism concludes, these two concepts of causality form the two eternal laws governing the phenomenon of life. The simultaneity of the subjective and the objective existences is what every human finds himself in at the moment of birth whether being conscious of it or not. From that moment on as he grows and matures, the nature of the unintended and unwilled situation becomes more and more obvious to him, and this discovery eventually creates within him the desire to alter the nature of the situation and to make it acceptable. Such a craving is described by Buddhism as the will of life (the love of and the passion for life, "aijia"), and is the basic element that forms the personality as well as the motivation of an individual. Henceforth action, speech and volition become intentional, the accumulation of which plants the seed of his future. Life then becomes a continuous chain of action and reaction in the manner of a forever turning wheel without beginning or end.⁷ Once such a recognition is gained, then one may indeed learn the wisdom that the cause of suffering not only can be found but also can be eliminated. This is wisdom (vidya). Here we come to the fourth part of the fourfold truth, namely, that there is a way to "freedom" from suffering.

The second principle prescribes that "correct" view, the "correct" attitude and the "correct" action, and is also called the eightfold way (āryamārga) to "happiness." The way consists of (1) correct speech (samyag-vāc 正語), (2) correct deed (samyak-karmānta 正業), (3) correct livelihood (samyag-ājīva 正命), (4) correct thought and purpose (samyak-

samkalpa 正思), (5) correct meditation (samyak-samādhi 正定), (6) correct memory (samyag-smṛti 正念), (7) correct view (samyag-dṛṣṭi 正見), and (8) correct aspiration (samyag-vyāyāma 正精進).⁸ The first three constitute the moral discipline of Buddhism; they aim at the moral tendency of human nature, and are termed by the Indians the "sila" inclination of man, meaning whatever comes out of the individual as concrete expression should be an indication of harmony between his conviction and his action. In Buddhism the emphasis on the "sila" tendency is to teach the individual "not to commit any evil, to do good and purify his mind." This is also the essential teaching of the Hinayana branch of Buddhism, which seeks "arhatship" through the "dharma" law. Thus in this case, deeds are considered important in helping an individual to reach "nirvāṇa."

The second set of three "corrects" prescribe certain mental disciplinary measures, enabling the individual to reach the harmony between his feeling, knowledge and will. It is called "samādhi," the will power in the form of equanimity and concentration. Such a manner of mental discipline calls for efforts and mindfulness and concentration. The yogi is particularly interested in this practice of mental discipline. The Scythian monk Fa-hu 法護, who came to China in A.D. 286, was apparently one of the few who advocated such mental discipline in the early phase of Buddhism in China. His translation of *Chi-po Ta-ch'en* (*The Sagacious Courtesan Who Holds the Urn* 摯鉢大臣) is good evidence reflecting this practice among some Buddhist in third-century China. The story tells how in selecting an able and wise subject to administer

national affairs, the king of a certain nation decided to first accuse the selected of a certain capital crime and impose on him a severe punishment to see how the person would withstand the trial. The punishment was that he should hold a jar filled with oil and walk from the north gate of the city to the south gate of the city without spilling one drop. Should he fail, he would be executed. The subsequent story tells how the person, through great exercise of mental concentration, was able to maintain composure of mind and walked through the wailing members of his family, passed the noisy and excited crowd of spectators, ignored a divinely beautiful woman, neglected the rampage of a raging elephant, fire alarms and many other incidents, and finally reached the other side of the city without failing the command.⁹ The story conveys one aspect of the yoga practice, namely, through concentration to reach "one-pointedness." By achieving the stage of one-pointedness, an individual is capable of warding off all external attractions, disturbances, and focuses his mind and will on one single goal.¹⁰

The last two "corrects" — correct view and correct aspiration — form the intuitive insight, which is described as the "*pañña*" wisdom, an essential condition for sound mental attitude which reflects the profound knowledge of life. This knowledge holds the truth that life is full of suffering and that suffering as shared by all living things has three features:

(1) Impermanence — things change all the time. This recognition is not alien to us. Confucius once commented that everything changed in every single minute. Heraclitus also suggested, through his famous analogy of putting

one's feet into a flowing river, that the world was one of constant flux. Buddhism, however, suggests that it is through the observation and analysis of the short duration of things one senses that "things come, become, and go," and that everything is transient and must, therefore, be rejected. This perhaps explains why Buddha did not perform the act of restoration of life for the woman who came to him. Buddha's argument would be that even if he had restored life to the child, the child would eventually have died of old age, and thus the act would have been one of short-sighted compassion since it would only postpone and not destroy death. True compassion, he concluded, would lead to "eternal bliss," the permanent elimination of sorrow.

(2) Ill (*duhka*) — all things are ill since they do not endure. This comprehension comes in three stages. The first stage points to the suffering nature of things as a result of "*skandha*." The second stage follows as a logical conclusion of the first that, judging by the characteristic of transience commonly shared by all things, one is compelled to accept the impossibility of liberation from ill unless total enlightenment is reached (as suggested by the woman who came to Buddha and who recognized the nature of life and suffering at the end).

(3) "*Anataman*" — there is no permanent self or soul in man. This, as mentioned briefly earlier, is in direct opposition to the Upanishadic monism, which accepts the permanence of the soul. The Buddhist concept recognizes life only as a living complex of psychic and physical elements surviving on the fruits of an individual's acts. Thus a person dies, the five aggregates (*skandha*) that form his life and personality disintegrate, and what is left is neither his soul nor his body but the "effects" of his body and soul during his life-time. This theory leaves us one rule, that the

suffering of man is of a universal nature and "is implicit in the cosmic law which chains us to our deeds, good as well as bad, and drives us incessantly round in a restless circle from form to form. In short, it is the suffering of bondage."¹¹

Finally, Buddhism suggests that the ultimate goal is "nirvāna," reached when all suffering ceases. The best explanation of the concept of "nirvāna" is given by Buddha himself when he described "nirvāna" as reaching the stage in which the candle was burned to the end. The excellent analogy portrays life as a burning candle: the soul as the wax, the body as the wick, and the expression (both mental and physical) of life as the flame. This is how ordinarily man perceives life; it is a burning candle. It is, therefore, a Buddhist says, wrong to say that the absolute in life is the soul, or the body, or the living expressions, because this is similar to saying that the burning candle is all three. When life as a living existence comes to its end, when one gains the right recognition, he will know that this is the final stage of all suffering and that once passing this stage, nothing exists; the wick is burned, the wax consumed, and the flame extinguished. Thus "nirvāna" is neither bliss of the soul, nor the immortal existence of it; it is total freedom from life, from suffering, and even from eternity.

We can be quite sure that some changes must have occurred in Buddhism after its introduction to China in order to make it acceptable to the Chinese mind, and that these changes could not be one-sided; the receptive soil must be properly cultivated before it would permit the new seed to grow into full maturity. Here we must discuss

the fermenting religious situation in China during the late Han and the Wei-Chin period, and its relation to the introduction of Buddhism.

When Buddhism began to set its root in China in the late Han and the early Wei-Chin period, the common religious practices among the Chinese people were closely linked with superstition. They can be classified into the following groups:¹²

(1) "Yien-shih" 祭祀 (idolatry) — According to *Sui-shu, Ti-li Chih* 隋書地理志 (*Book of Sui "On Geography"*), in the south (Yang-chou) "the common custom emphasizes the worship of ghosts and spirits; people love to pay reverence to temple gods."¹³

(2) "Wu-shu" 巫術 (voodoo witchcraft) — *Wei-shu, Hsin-fa Chih* 魏書刑罰志 (*Book of Wei "On Legal Records"*) recorded the decree by Ts'ui Hao 崔浩 to "execute any male or female who practices the art of voodoo witchery, and to also burn to the ground his or her house and household goods."¹⁴ The practice of "wu-shu" or "wu-tu" originated from the "art of insect breeding," which was described in *Pen Ch'ao Kan-mu* 本草綱目 (*The Catalogue of Herbs*) as a measure of extracting poison from insects by "putting many poisonous insects into one fold till they have devoured one another, and then taking the poison fluid from the lone survivor."¹⁵ This later developed into a form of witchcraft without the use of poison; instead, it used a small carved wood statue with needles stuck into the various parts of its body; each, as was believed, would cause great pain in the corresponding parts of the cursed one.

(3) "Hsin-hsu" 行序 (numerical order) — The basic concept of "hsin-hsu" was found in the Han scholar, Tung Chung-shu's discussion of "yuan" 元, "t'ien" 天, "yin" 陰, "yang" 陽, and "wu-hsin" 五行:

Heaven, earth, yin and yang (the female and the male forces), and the five elements (wood, fire, metal, earth, and water) are nine, plus man they constitute the number 'ten,' which is the complete number of the universe.¹⁶

He concluded that as the virtue of heaven and earth was invested in the natural rotation of seasons, so was the virtue of man found in his observation and imitation of heaven and earth; that supreme virtue was great harmony as demonstrated by the smooth turning of the four seasons in the so-called "perfection of heavenly order":

Heaven has harmony, virtue, equanimity, and power; it also has the ability to give and the capacity to receive; it has the principle of rule. These are to be observed by man. Spring represents the harmony of heaven; summer, heaven's virtue; fall, its equanimity; winter, its power. The order of heaven starts with harmony, proceeds to virtue, equanimity, and ends in great authority. This order proves that virtue is born of harmony and authority of equanimity; that without harmony one cannot exercise the authority of celebration or reward, and that without equanimity one cannot demonstrate his magnanimity. The wise sees this as the way of heaven.¹⁷

Thus he believed that an intimate relationship existed between heaven and man, that the occurrence of unharmonious and abnormal events in the human world would inevitably stir heaven to manifest corresponding phenomena in the natural world. This concept was followed by many in the Wei-Chin period, though some speculated in a pure metaphysical manner.

(4) "T'u ch'ien" 圖讖 (apocrypha and prognostication) — This is another form of the common practice in the period based on various interpretations of the *Book of Changes*, the *River Map* 河圖 and the *Book of Lo* 洛書. The various interpretations observed were supposed to reveal the possible outcome of things and, consequently, tell the individual what to do or not to do.

(5) "Kuei-p'u-chih-shu" 龜卜之術 (divination through observing the cracks in the baked turtle shell) — This is an ancient practice widely adopted by some scholars in the Wei-Chin period. People used baked turtle shell to speculate on the possibility of human endeavors and the outcome of their potential results. But the scholars of the period often used *I-Ching* (*The Book of Changes*) to interpret the findings.

(6) Miscellaneous arts — These arts included dream interpretation, fortune-telling by palmistry or feeling the bones. They were common among the ordinary people.

Among the many practices, "hsin-hsu" and "t'u-ch'ien" eventually became part of the common subjects of metaphysical speculation among the intellectuals and were thus able to survive the decrees by different emperors to suppress the practice of magic or witchcraft. These elements, together with the development of the Taoist attitude toward life, and the skeptical view toward "ju chia" ideas, provided an ideal reception for Buddhist philosophy in the Wei-Chin period.

In the earlier discussion of the date of introduction of Buddhism into China, I suggested, with various dates provided by many Buddhist scholars, that it was during the later years in the Han Dynasty that the exposure to this originally Indian philosophy took place, and that

it did not become popular until the Chin period. The early phase of reception of Buddhism in late Han was largely demonstrated in the use of the term "shih-tao" 釋道 ("tao" as 道 in Taoism) for the translation of the word Buddhism (in the *Sutra of Forty-two Sections* 四十二章經). The advocates of Buddhism in this period and later in Wei and Chin, without exception, used Taoist terminology in their translation of Buddhist sutras. It is believed that the *Sutra of Forty-two Sections* was translated into Chinese by Kāśyapa Mātāṅga, who was the first officially recognized Indian Buddhist monk to come to China.¹⁸ The main discussion of the sutra centers around the concept of "anatta" (not-self or non-self):

The Buddha said, "I consider that all the names we gave to the 'mahā-bhūta'¹⁹ are vain (anatta). What we consider as self also is not enduring; everything is an illusion."

Here the term "anatta" is translated into the Chinese Taoist term "wū wu" 無吾 or "wū wǒ" 無我 (without self). In some of the later translations of the term, the Chinese term "fei-sheng" 非身 (non-body or not-the-body) was also used. All these terms belong to the Taoist terminology, and from the use of them we discern that people in those days must have thought of the concept "anatta" as only "the rise and the extinction of the soul and the spirit in the non-enduring earthly existence, and when that body disintegrates, the soul also passes away; all in all, human existence is like an illusion."²⁰ It is thus quite obvious that the concept of "anatta" was never truly understood by the translators. Buddha's idea of "anatta" was perhaps best

illustrated in *Anguttara-Nikāya*:

All that exists (sabbe dhammā) is non-absolute (anatta). Upon this statement hinges Buddha's concept of the flux of the world and his principle concluding that all lives are impermanent and thus full of ills.

Other facts which evidenced the distortion of Buddhist concepts by Taoist interpreters in the period were found in the popular practices of controlling passion and desire to indulge in sensual pleasures through the "art of simplicity," and "ch'an-tin" 禪定 (meditation). The common pursuit of the time was to return to the state of "wū-wei" (non-activity). This is very much Lao-tzu's idea of avoiding the "confusion" caused by sound, color, and taste so that man and nature would become companions instead of rivals.²¹ It is interesting to notice here that one of the earliest translations of the term "nirvāṇa" was not "nieh-p'an" 涅槃, which is a transliteration on account of the difficulty of giving it a proper and representative equivalent, but "wū-wei" 無爲,²² a typical Taoist term for both non-activity and laissez-faire.

Ch'an meditation in the late Han period had two main expressions, and both were regarded as major paths leading to the apprehension of the truth of Buddhism. They were described as the "two gates of sweet dews" 二甘露門. The first is somewhat more rigid and concentrates on "object observation" leading to "subject apprehension." This is called "pu-ching-kuān ts'o-ch'an" 不淨觀坐禪 (meditation to purify the impure desires). Often a follower of this practice would sit in rigid posture looking at a, for instance, corpse or at a skeleton for a long duration of time till the meditator's mind would become oblivious

to the existence of any external object or event. It was believed that by so doing one would eventually realize that life and death at the end would come to nothing and, therefore, should not be feared. The other practice is called "tzu-hsi-nien ts'o-ch'an" 持息念坐禪 (breath regulating meditation), which has a closer connection with the Indian original "anapana" concept. The Indian concept suggests that there are ten atmospheres of breath within the human body and that "anapana" is one way of regulating and harnessing them to the point of equilibrium. Chinese followers of this concept accepted the idea in a somewhat altered form. They believed that the "ch'an" heart or "dhayana" was situated in the inhale-exhale channel and could thus be grasped with proper control of breathing. This is close to the Taoist concept and practice of "t'u-nah" 吐納 (exhalation and inhalation exercise). The intended purpose of this practice was to induce the goodness within man by doing away with the passionate desires in his heart. The belief was that within man the proper blending of "yin" and "yang" forces represented purity of the spirit, and that the disruption of this harmony would lead to passion, hate and many other emotional disturbances, a concept which reminds one of the Renaissance concept of harmony and humors discussed in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. In order to avoid such possible disruption of the harmony within, one must reach a state of "purity of the spirit," "chih hsüan" 至玄 (reaching the transcendental state or the mysterious state of existence). A good example of this is found in Ko Hung's 葛洪 famous work *Pao-p'u-tzu* 抱朴子. In the chapter on "hsüan" 玄 (the ulti-

mate mystery), Ko Hung wrote that "hsüan" was "the ancestor of nature and the fountainhead of all things."²³ This indeed is Lao-tzu's concept of Tao:

道生一，一生二，二生三，三生萬物

Tao produces one; one, two; two, three; three, all things. (*Tao Teh Ching*, chapt. 42)

He concluded that once a person secured this "hsüan", he was able to eliminate the temptation of sound and color, because

玄之所在，其樂無窮，玄之所去，器幣神逝。

wherever "hsüan" is, there exists happiness without measure; wherever "hsüan" evades, there evil works and fading spirit abound, (*Pao-p'u-tzu*, "ch'an hsüan p'ien" 禪玄篇).

and because sound and color were the causes of all ills:

夫五聲八音，清高流微，損聰也。鮮華輻赤或麗炳，傷明者也。宴安逸豫，靖驕芳醒，亂性者也。冶容媚姿，鉛華素質，代命者也。

The music of the five notes and eight sounds,²⁴ amid their harmony wear away our hearing. Ornamentation with its gorgeous colors, and beauty with its enticing appeals hurt our eyesight. Indulgence in feasting, comfort, leisure and drinking corrupts our very natures. Lovely faces painted with rouge and puffed with powder erode our very lives.

Such speculations against external stimuli seem to have as their aim (1) the achievement of an other-worldly life through the cultivation of a purified spirit, and (2) the search for a union of Tao (the

natural way) and the individual soul (sheng 神). Both ideas coincide with Lao-tzu's concept of following nature as the best demonstration of the free soul. The only difference lies in the emphasis on how to reach the "total devotion of the spirit to silence and vacuity" (ch'uen-sheng chin-hsu 全神靜虛). The Wei-Chin speculation stressed the cultivation of a natural life while the Han contention talked about achieving a transcendental life through the art of alchemy. The new trend together with the ever popular "ch'in t'an" 清談 movement propelled Wei-Chin Buddhism into a realm of abstract philosophy.

In the Wei-Chin period, the two centres of Buddhism were Lo-yang 洛陽 in the north and Chien-yeh 建業 in the south, each representing the two major schools of Buddhism that were popular at that time — the ch'an (zen) school and the "panju" (prajana) school, with the former emphasizing the "achievement of an other-worldly life through cultivation of a purified spirit," and the latter stressing the "union of the supreme Tao and the individual soul." In this sense Buddhism in the Wei-Chin period perhaps never reached the point of pure philosophy as it later did in the T'ang Dynasty (618-906), and the concept of "sansara" was never very popular at that time.

As mentioned earlier, the word ch'an 禪 comes from the Sanskrit origin, "dhyana," meaning meditation. The purpose of this practice is to reach total tranquility (samadhi) through meditation. In itself, the "dhyana" practice is considered the "highest contemplation, and takes the place of prayer in Buddhism."²⁵ It has four stages:

(1) The stage of gladness and

joy "arising from a life of solitude accompanied by insight, reflection, contemplation and inquiry,"²⁶ the individual, in this stage, is freed from all forms of sensuality through concentration of his mind on a single thought.

(2) The stage of elation and internal calm — in this stage, the individual, through concentration, reaches a deep peace of mind "without any conscious reflection"; he frees his mind from reasoning and investigation.

(3) The stage of complete stillness — in this stage, the individual eliminates all passions and prejudices, and his "atmamada" (lust for life), and is completely stilled.

(4) The stage of complete self-possession — in this stage, the individual gains total self-possession and complete tranquility; he is without care and without joy for all "that gives joy and care is put aside," and he becomes indifferent to all emotions.

Ko Hung (284-363) had arrived at a similar conclusion in *Pao-p'u-tzu*, "ch'an-hsüan-p'ien" 禪玄篇 ("The Chapter on Meditation and Mystery" in *Pao-p'u-tzu*), that through the elimination of illusions caused by all sounds and colors one obtained the condition of tranquility and was able to

能淡默恬愉，不染不移，養其心以無欲，
願其神以粹素，滌誘慕收之以正，除
難求之思，遣害真之累。薄喜怒之邪，
滅愛惡之端。

remain indifferent, quiet, elated and joyful without being moved and affected by any stimulation; nurture his heart in desirelessness and nourish his spirit in purity; sweep and wash away all inducements and transform them into rectitude; eliminate indulging thoughts and banish all ill ideas that are harmful to truth; "disdain the

evils of joy and anger, and extinguish
all buddings of love and hate."

The leader of the *ch'an* school in this period was the Scythian monk An Shih-kao 安世高 (arrived in China in 148 A.D.), who translated into Chinese the *Anapana Sutra* 安般守意經, emphasizing the Hinayana concept and method, and also incorporated into his teachings the Taoist idea of the cultivation of the "natural spirit." His main theory suggested that the purpose of "ch'an-shu" 禪數 (counting the number of times of breathing in a limited period of meditation)²⁷ was to discover that the "very origin" of life was caused by the accumulation of the effects of the "skandha." The term "skandha" in Sanskrit means "gathering together" of "rupa" (form), "vedanā" (feeling), "saññā" (notion), "Sankhāra" (impulse), and "vinñāna" (consciousness). In the Han period, the term "skandha" was translated as "yün" 蘊 (receptivity). An Shih-kao added one more word to it, making the term read "yin-mou"²⁸ and thus gave it a more appropriate expression of the transitory nature of life. In his analysis and notation of the *Pañcaskandha Sutra*, An Shih-kao wrote:

五陰種，身也。滅此彼生。猶穀種朽於下，栽受身生於上。

The five "skandha" constitute the body (life). When one falls, the other rises; it is like planting the seed in wet soil; the seed must die before it can grow into the crop.

Here we can already sense the comprehensive nature of Buddha's original teaching concerning life, and a clear demonstration of the turning point

in Chinese Buddhism from superstition (in Han) to philosophy. Earlier it was mentioned that Buddha (Shakamuni) speculated on the nature and occurrence of life in the discussion of the theory of "satta." Following the analogy used by Buddha, we see that An Shih-kao also had in mind the idea that life was full of suffering and that the "skandha" (wu-yün 五蘊) were the cause of it. Thus he concluded that one became the Buddha or "fu" 佛 when he had successfully extinguished the "skandha." He further suggested that the "four dharma seals" were extraordinary recognition of the fourfold noble truth.²⁹ This eventually led to the theory of "fei-sheng" 非身 (non-self), opening up the channels of philosophical discussion in the Wei-Chin era.

The recognition of the importance of the knowledge of the "skandha" as the cause of the illusion of life suggests the first stage of the "dhyana" process, to free oneself from all forms of life. From this stage of the elimination of the body and other substances, one could further pursue the elimination of "consciousness," "self," and reach complete "self-possession." The question begged here is not on the validity of the theory but on the realization of it. The same is also the point of difference between the *ch'an* school and the *pajna* school in this period. The former stressed the formula of "preservation of the will" (shou-i 守意). The adoption of this formula again showed the strong Taoist influence. K'ang Tseng-hui's (康僧惠) *Preface to Anapana Sutra* is a clear example:

情有內外、眼、耳、口、鼻、身、心，
謂之內矣。色、聲、香、味、細滑、
牙除，謂之外也。

Inducement (ch'in 情) can be both

internal and external: the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, the body and the heart belong to the internal; color, sound, fragrance, taste, smoothness and evil ideas belong to the external.³⁰

The physical and psychological combination, according to the analysis, creates the realms of the body and the soul (mind), and is the cause of all sickness. A person must thus purify his "will" in order to cultivate his life in an atmosphere of tranquility and avoid physical and mental turmoil. This is "shou-i," and is quite similar to the Taoist concept of preservation of life.³¹ The ultimate end, of course, is to reach the condition of "one-pointedness," which means, in the "ch'an" sense, association of the individual with "total serenity" (ch'an-tin 禪定) and, in the Taoist sense, breaking the bounds of impossibility (reaching "sheng-t'ung" 神通). This search for the state of the unlimited originated in India. In the epic *Bhagavadgita*, the discussion between Arjuna and Krishna touched on the earliest phase of yoga meditation with the aim to reach ultimately the point of association of the individual with the universal (Atman-Brahman) and the association of the individual with other individuals (compassion). The advice Krishna gave to Arjuna was that he should know that he was one with the Universal Soul and that included his fellow men. "Shou-i" as a "ch'an" concept in the Wei-Chin period apparently had a similar interpretation with the emphasis on the ultimate union. The story "chi-pu-ta-ch'en" is a good example of this concept, that on account of a concentrated will which kept out all temptations the wise man triumphed in his trial.

The prajna school of Buddhism in the Wei-Chin period was represented by the monk Chih Ch'ien (支謙), who was a native Chinese. It had its share of similarity with Taoist metaphysics in the concept of "hsü-wu" (虛無 nothingness and void). In discussing the goal of the "prajna" wisdom (the ultimate unification between spirit and Tao), it emphasized the importance of the recognition of the nature of all evils and seductions, the cultivation of this recognition eventually leading to the gaining of the supreme wisdom (entrance into nirvana). The terms used to describe nirvāṇa or void were quite often intermingled with Taoist expressions, such as "hsü-wu" for "k'un" (空 emptiness), and "cheng-ju" (眞如 the supreme truth) for "nieh-p'an" (nirvāṇa). The translation of the *Prajna-pāramita Sutra* (般若婆羅密多經) undertaken by such well-known monks and scholars as Chih Ch'ien, Ts'eng Hui (僧會), Chih Tao-ling (支道林), who were also well versed in Taoist philosophy, was indicative of the interflow of these two philosophies at that time. But the unique turn is not the transformation of Buddhism into Taoist expressions, but rather the other way round. Buddhist metaphysics became the main subject of almost any form of metaphysical discussion. And the translation of sutras became a major influence over the development and transformation of the study of the classics. In the matter of "ch'ing-t'an" (清談), when Buddhism became its main subject, the emphasis inevitably fell on theory rather than on method. This explains why the "prajna" concept became so popular among the intellectuals of the time.

In the early period of the introduction of the "prajna" knowledge, "the Chinese

scholars and monks did not exactly comprehend the way the Indian monks of the Prajna School did, but met it with their stored knowledge of Taoist metaphysics."³² Among the secular scholars the well-known interpreters of the "prajna" theory were Ho Yen (何晏) and Wang Pi (王弼). In *Chin-shu Wang Pi Chuan* (晉書王弼傳 *The Book of Chin "The Biography of Wang Pi"*) it was recorded:

魏正始中，何晏、王弼等祖述老莊立論，以爲天地萬物皆以無爲本。無也者，開物成務，無往而不存者也。

In the years of Cheng-shih of Wei Dynasty (c. 3rd century A.D.), Ho Yen, Wang Pi and others discussed the philosophies of Lao (Lao-tzu), Chuang (Chuang-tzu), stressing the point that heaven and earth and all things came from "wu." "Wu" is that which produces and accomplishes all, and it exists everywhere.

Ho Yen in his *Treatise on Tao* (論道, *Lun Tao*) described the relationship between "yu" and "wu" in a typical Taoist manner:

有之爲有，持無以生；事而爲事，由無以成。夫道之尚無語，名之而無名，視之而無形，聽之而無聲，則道之全焉。

Being (yu) exists on account of non-being (wu); things are accomplished on account of nothingness (wu). For Tao is only complete when one says it without words, names it without names, sees it without seeing its shape, and hears it without hearing its sound.

This is similar to Wang Pi's concept of "wu":

道者，無之稱也，無不通也，無不由也。識之曰道。寂然無體，不可爲象。

Tao is the name of wu. It exists

everywhere and is the cause of all beginnings. To give it a recognizable name, we call it Tao; it is quiet and serene, without any form or appearance.

Here we find that the distinction between Tao and "wu" is not made. Tao is "wu," and vice versa.

The non-secular leader of the Prajna School in this period was Tao An (道安, 312-385 A.D.). One might say that without him Chinese Buddhism could not have become such an interesting philosophy attracting so many intellectuals to its fold.³³ It is true that he had not totally abandoned certain Taoist concepts and terms in his interpretation of Buddhism, but it is exactly on this account that Tao An was considered great; he was able to make the "prajna" concept explicit through its Taoist counterparts. Judging by the many philosophical ideas of the Wei-Chin period and their diverse expressions, the only way to make a concept comprehensible was perhaps by comparisons; in this case, Taoist ideas served well the purpose. Tao An clearly saw the disadvantage of expounding Buddhist philosophy without relating it to contemporary thought, and thus adopted the method of comparative study of original Chinese ideas and Buddhist thought in order to present the major theories of the foreign philosophy. For instance, in his discussion of the concept of "pen-wu" (本無 all dharma do not originally exist), he wrote in *The Preface to Tao-ti Ching* (道地經序):

其爲像也，含弘靜泊，緜緜若存，寂寥無言，辯之者幾矣。倪忽無行，求以濟乎其難測，聖人乃爲布不言之教，陳無轍之軌。

Its manifestation, if demanded, contains profound serenity and conveys the

impression of permanent existence. It is peaceful and quiet and thus unspeakable; few would be able to distinguish it with words. It is fluid and not confined by constancy; it is profound and unfathomable. The sage could only demonstrate it without words, present it without rules.

He further related this to the concept of "ch'an kuàn" (禪觀 Zen observation) in order to bring out the basic idea of "hsin-k'ung" (性空 there is no dharma nature) as suggested in the "prajna" theory. To reach this wisdom, one must realize that the ultimate effort would lead to the extinction of the temptation of life, Tao An concluded:

安般經注序：「寄息故無六階之差，寓骸故有四級之別。階差者，損之又損，以至於無爲。級別者，忘之又忘，以至於無欲。」

Arrest breathing in order to eliminate "sadāyatana,"³⁴ Dwell within the self in order to have the four powers for attaining enlightenment. Elimination is to reduce and reduce again (activities) till one becomes non-active ("wu-wei"); dwelling within the self is to forget and forget again till one becomes passionless. (*Preface to Anapana Sutra*)

This is Lao-tzu's concept of pursuing Tao:

爲道日損，損之又損，以至於無爲。

The pursuit of Tao is to reduce daily; to reduce and reduce again till one becomes non-active. (*Tao Teh Chin*, chapt. 48)

When one finally reached the state of total extinction of all desires and, consequently, all fears and tension, Tao An suggested, one became indeed as "dead as the dead ash, and will never be disturbed by thunder or lightning,

nor can he be harmed by the burning fire again; one becomes part of the supreme void (t'ai-hsu 太虛), serene and peaceful; one is in the company of the great Buddha."³⁵ The message either implies or uses such terms as "wu-wei" (without action), "wu-yien" (無言 wordless), "chin-chi" (靜寂 silent and serene), "hsiao-yao" (逍遙 free and easy); all are interchangeable with the Taoist ideas expressed by Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu.

Whether it is the advocacy of "ch'an-tin" or that of "pan-ju" (prajna), one clear trend of the development of Chinese thought which can be seen in the Wei-Chin period is the merging of Buddhism and Taoism. In their attempt to solve the inadequacy of life as revealed in the suffering of a turbulent era, both Taoism and Buddhism preached a transcendental philosophy that emphatically denied the value of worldly existence since it definitely entailed sorrow and pain, as well as joy and pleasure, and the only way to do away with joy, pleasure, sorrow and pain was the extinction of the "flame of life." To achieve this result, the value of life would have to be totally redefined; this resulted in the attack by both the Taoist and the Buddhist on the conventional concepts of almost every aspect of life preached by the Confucianist. We see how Liu Ling 劉伶 and Yuan Chi 阮籍 behaved, and how Ts'ao Chih 曹植 and T'ao Ch'ien 陶潛 dreamed of their new worlds. But the best we can say of their endeavor is that they dreamed idealistically and exerted their efforts bravely. However, it will be a great injustice to these vanguards of idealism and free expression of the literary world if we neglect the positive aspects of their aspiration; they, in their

unintended yet united efforts, redefine philosophical priorities which affected the whole mood and expression of life in their time. For one, the argument between the nature of existence as real or unreal provided for their contemporaries sufficient issues from which to draw topics for discussion. For another, the harmony between Taoism and Buddhism as based on their mutual "distaste" for the somewhat rigid and pragmatic Confucianism produced new strength in the anti-tradition movement popular among the non-conventional intellectuals, and, consequently, led to

a new definition of literature. But, I must caution against any suggestion that such a change was brought about by a revolutionary transformation; it was rather achieved through a gradual evolution which merged two rather conflicting ideas into an indigeneous synthesis through compromises and accommodations. Thus the introduction of Buddhism to China created in the development of the intellectual history of that nation a new era, injecting new blood into the cultural life of the nation that cannot be paralleled in later history.

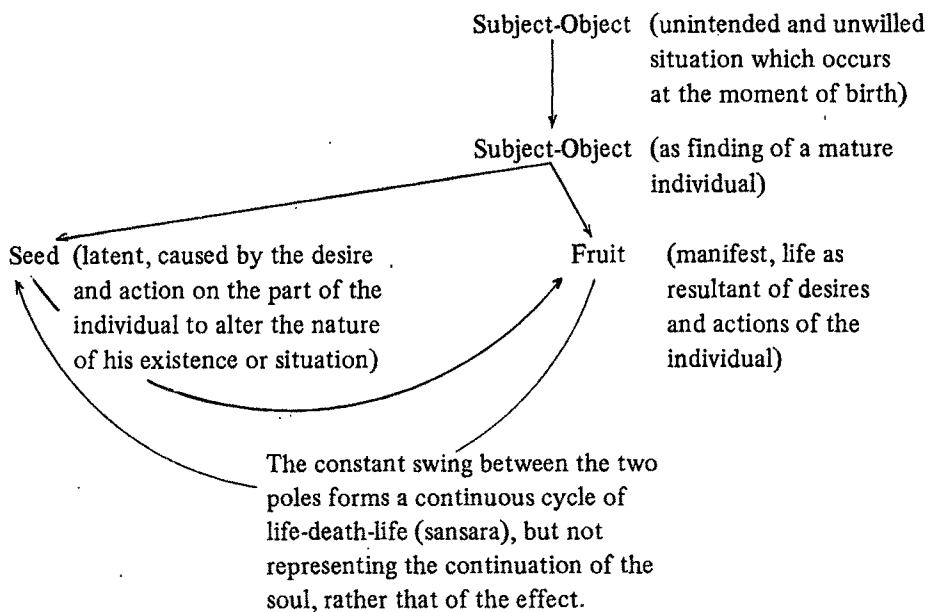
NOTES

- ¹ *Ming-fu Lun*, "Chin-lu" (明佛論經錄) suggested the time as prior to the Ch'in Dynasty (255-207 B.C.); *Han Shu* (漢書) and *Wei Shu*, "Shi Lao Tze" (魏書釋老志), *Shih-sho Hsin-yü*, "Wen-hsüeh P'ien" (世說新語文學篇) set the time in the reign of Wu-ti (Emperor Wu 武帝) of the Han Dynasty (140-87 B.C.); *Mou-tzu*, "Li-huo Lun" (牟子理惑論), "the Preface" to the *Sutra of 42 Sections* (四十二章經序) and *Lao-tzu Hua-hu Chin* (老子化胡經), all collected in *Hung-ming Chi* (弘明集), mentioned with convincing historical facts the time as the reign of Han Ming-ti (Emperor Ming 明帝, A.D. 58-74).
- ² Mr. T'ang Yung-t'un, in his monumental work, *The History of Buddhism in Han, Wei, the Two Chins and Southern and Northern Dynasties* (湯用彤著漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史 Taiwan: Commercial P, 1962) discussed the various dates of the introduction of Buddhism to China in great details. He affirmed the time to be around A.D. 67. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (梁啟超), another famous Chinese scholar of the 20th century, agreed with the later classical records and set the time at later Han Dynasty (A.D. 25-200) in his *Eighteen Essays on Buddhism* (佛學研究十八篇 Taiwan: Commercial P). Jen Chi-wei (任繼維), a contemporary Chinese scholar on Buddhism, narrowed down the time to A.D. 67: "Some sutras were introduced to China in the 10th year of Ming-ti's reign," (Jen Chi-wei, *Collected Writings on Chinese Buddhist Thoughts from Han to T'ang* 漢唐中國佛教思想論集. Peking: Joint Publications, 1963, 2). Fung Yu-lan (馮友蘭), in his early edition of *History of Chinese Philosophy* (trans. Derke Bodde, Princeton U. P.), set the time in the First Century A.D. (2: 239). Kenneth Ch'en, in his *Buddhism in China* (Princeton U. P., 1964, 27-34), agreed with Jen's idea but did not give a specific date.
- ³ Lama Anagarika Govinda, *The Psychological Attitude of Early Buddhism* (London: Rider & Co., 1969) 50.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, 49.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, 53-54.
- ⁶ "Skandha" is the Sanskrit term for the five constituents of personality; namely, form (*rupa*), feeling (*vedanā*), perception or notion (*sañña*), activities or impulses (*sankhāra*), and consciousness (*vinñāna*). According to Buddhism, "*rupa*" is the material aspect of life, and the rest constitute

the psycho-mental aspect of life. It also suggests that the phenomenon of life cannot exist without both aspects. "Astādaśa dhatu" consists of the six organs (六根), their objects (六境), and their perceptions (六識), arranged as follows:

6 organs	eye	seeing	color
	ear	hearing	sound
	nose	smelling	fragrance
	tongue	tasting	flavor
	skin	touching	texture
	mind	thinking	thought
	6 perceptions	6 objects/conditions	

- ⁷ This is the Buddhist theory of "samsara", which is different from the Upanishadic concept of transmigration of the soul. The Upanishadic and Brahmanic belief affirms the existence of an eternal soul (Brahman-Atman) while Buddhism denies its existence. Buddhism only accepts the effects of human action (mental and physical) as the cause for a future life. It suggests that two effects – the ideation effect and the action effect – form a consequential relationship between this life and the next life:



Govinda discussed this very much in details in his book cited above.

⁸ The eightfold way is also the eight correct ways or "eightfold noble path" leading to "nirvāna."

⁹ In "Advice on Personal Cultivation" in *Selected Literary Works of the Three Kingdoms, Two Chins, and Northern and Southern Dynasties* (Peking: Peking U P, 1965) 149-153.

修行道地經勸意品

¹⁰ The early yoga concept in the *Bhagavadgita* suggests two goals to be reached through concentration: (1) identification of the individual with the ultimate (Brahman), (2) identification of the individual with his fellow men.

¹¹ Govinda 51-52.

- 12 *The History of the Two Chins, and Southern and Northern Dynasties* 兩晉南北朝史 (Taiwan: K'ai Ming Book Co., 1969) 3:1464-1488.
- 13 百衲本二十四史 (台灣: 商務印書館), 十五冊, 頁 11573 “俗信鬼神, 好淫祀”。
- 14 全上 “爲蠱者, 男女皆斬而焚其家”。
- 15 Tz'e Hai (Chinese Encyclopedia 辭海), section on insects (Taiwan: Chung Hua Book Co., 1961) 2:2590.
- 16 Tung Chung-shu, *Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu* (春秋繁露), “T'ien Ti Ying Yang P'ien” (Taiwan: Shih-chia Book Co., 1960) 2:391. 天、地、陰、陽、木、火、土、金、水九, 與人而十者, 天之數也。
- 17 Ibid., 387-388. 天有和, 有德, 有平, 有威, 有相受之意, 有爲政之理, 不可不需也。春者, 天之和也; 夏者, 天之德也; 秋者, 天之平也; 冬者, 天之威也。天之序, 必先和然後發德; 必先平然後發威; 此可以見, 不和, 不可以發慶賞之德; 不平, 不可以發刑罰之威, 又可以見德生於和; 威生於平也。不和無德, 不平無威, 天之道也, 達者以此見之矣。
- 18 T'ang, chapt. 3.
- 19 The four elements of which all things are made: earth, water, fire and air, representing the conditions of solid, liquid, heat and motion; they also constitute the perceiving subjectivity and the perceived object.
- 20 T'ang 1:65. Most of the late Han scholars in their translation of the “anatta” concept seemed to have accepted it as a concept of existence. Even such famous and learned layman as Wang Ch'ung (王充) explained the idea by suggesting that man existed by spirit and would return to spirit after death.
- 21 *La-tzu Tao Teh Ching*, chapt. 21: 五色令人目盲; 五音令人耳聾; 五味令人口爽; 馳騁畋獵令人心發狂; 難得之貨令人行妨。
- 22 T'ang Yung-t'un discussed this quite thoroughly in his book on Buddhism in the Wei Chin period.
- 23 抱朴子曰: 玄者自然之始祖而萬殊之大宗也。
- 24 The five notes, “kung” (宮), “shang” (商), “chiao” (角), “yü” (羽), “cheng” (徵) are the pentatonic scale governing Chinese music. They are somewhat equivalent to C, D, E, G, A in Western musical scale. The eight sounds are a later development of the octave scale in Chinese music.
- 25 Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1966) 1:424-425.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 It was believed that by so doing one could reach the point of concentration and tranquility.
- 28 The word “mou” means appearance. In the translation of *Pañcaskandha Sutra*, he used the term “yin-mou” to explain that these elements were evil elements (skandha marsa).
- 29 Life is (1) suffering, (2) impermanence, (3) non-ego, (4) extinction of existence in “nirvāna.”
- 30 Why evil ideas were considered external inducement is not clear.
- 31 *Laotzu Tao Teh Ching*, chapter 12: “The five colors blind our sight; the five notes deafen our hearing; the five flavors corrupt our taste; racing and hunting make our minds mad; the valuables make us commit wrongs.”
- 32 Jen Chi-wei, 9.
- 33 In this case I discount Buddhism as a religion of superstition as common among the ignorant. This coincides with Liang Ch'ih'ao's argument considering Tao An the one who contributed most in enabling Buddhism to become a great philosophy in China. See Liang's work cited in note 2, the chapter “On the Development of Buddhist Theories in China.”
- 34 The six organs of sensation and the six sensations — eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind; sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch and perception.
- 35 Tao An, *Jen-sheng Pen-yüan Ching Chu* 道安「人生本願經注: 行茲定者, 冥如死灰, 雷霆不能駭其念, 火燄不能傷其肩, 肅然與太虛齊量, 恬然與造釋俱遊。」

Visions of Culture from Victorian England to Meiji Japan: The Case of Henry Thomas Buckle (1821-1862)*

Danny Shiu-lam Paau

INTRODUCTION

Owing to their general supremacy over peoples of other regions of the world in modern history, a good number of Europeans were confident that they had 'discovered', and perhaps also mastered, the secrets of civilization. Quite naturally, they wrote interpretative works to explain the causes of the success of European peoples (and often also the 'failure' of non-European peoples). Some were histories of civilization or culture¹ while others, as Montesquieu's *The Spirit of Laws*, took non-historical titles. One would assume that people admiring Western success had a tremendous interest in reading the 'secrets' of their success, written by none other than the Westerners themselves. Yet the influence of European interpretations of culture remains relatively unexplored though historians had long scrutinized the influence of various Western schools of thought on Asian intellectuals. Important as they were, the schools

of Western thought constituted only part but not the whole of the source of Eastern perception of Western civilization. Only a relatively small number of nineteenth-century Asians were trained in Western thought, and many could only understand it at a rather general level. It was difficult to master the intricacies, subtleties and conflicting interpretations of thought bred in an alien milieu. Perhaps for many aspiring Asians, to 'Westernize' (quite synonymous with 'modernize' at the turn of the century) meant to achieve certain areas of success which then seemingly only Western nations had acquired. Their own preoccupations, to be sure, determined the priorities in their pursuit of modernization. Some imported European interpretations of civilization, perhaps, also figured prominently in shaping their visions of modernity.

The search for *bummei kaika* (Civilization and Enlightenment) or *seiyō bummei* (Western Civilization)

* This article is rewritten from a paper presented at the XXXII International Congress for North African and Asian Studies held in Hamburg, Germany, in August, 1986.

characterized Meiji Japan.² Japan was, to be sure, the first and most successful Asian nation to modernize after the West. Her intellectuals, especially those of the Meiji era, had a tremendous influence on other Asian patriots seeking national salvation. Several European interpretative works on civilization had been documented to be in wide circulation in this era. Prior to examining the imported works and their influence in Japan, it is necessary to point out that the extent of success of individual European scholars in East Asia did not necessarily resemble the same back home. Among European interpreters of civilization, the works of Montesquieu, Henry Thomas Buckle (1821-1862) and François P. G. Guizot (1787-1874) stood out.³ Montesquieu's *The Spirit of Laws* had been the matrix of many studies. Guizot had long been studied in many historiographies as a pioneering positivist historian. His contribution to the Japanese view of modernity complemented and perhaps even rivaled that of Buckle and deserves a thorough, separate study.⁴ This paper focuses on studying the influence of Buckle in Meiji Japan as he had perhaps, been instrumental in passing on to the Japanese what could be called the 'vision of civilization' of Europeans of his time yet his contribution is not yet fully recognized.

BUCKLE AND THE POSITIVIST EUROPEAN CULTURAL HISTORIANS

Buckle emerged amidst the tide of European cultural historiography, pioneered perhaps by François M. A. Voltaire (1694-1778)⁵ which reflected the confidence and optimism of his time. Most cultural interpreters were

lonely searchers for the secrets of civilization, yet generally speaking they shared some common characteristics: Firstly, they broke away from the traditional focus on chronology, dynasties, heroics and politics, to study history as the total development of civilization, and as the product of human response to all governing factors including the natural environment. In Buckle's words, he sought 'to rescue history from the hands of annalists, chroniclers and antiquaries.'⁶ Secondly, they were mostly positivistic in outlook and sought to unearth general principles governing human progress. For example, Buckle wrote:

I may say generally that I have been long convinced that the progress of every people is regulated by principles — or, as they are called, laws — as regular and certain as those which govern the physical world. To discover these laws is the object of my work.
...

Thirdly, cultural historians compared nations and scrutinized all factors assumed to have an influence on human nature — including natural environment to animal instincts of men. Their undertakings were thus ambitious, encyclopaedic and bold.⁸ Fourthly, they assumed that there was only one human civilization, one destiny and only one path to it. Many peoples were not developing their individual cultures *per se* but were mainly at various stages, advanced or lagging, on the same ladder to modernity.⁹ Buckle's book was thoroughly imbued with these basic assumptions. His book was perhaps the most widely read in Meiji Japan. In fact, historians have noted that the introduction of his book into Japan

led to a tide of cultural history in the host country.¹⁰ Buckle had an important influence in Japan and was the legitimate representative of this school of European historiography in East Asia. Yet he remains relatively obscure owing to, perhaps, the bias of his own contemporary fellow country-men.

The so-called 'Bacon of History' was born on November 24, 1821 into a rich family in England. A physically delicate person since childhood, Buckle unfortunately had to leave school at fourteen, in spite of having displayed flashes of brilliance. For this Buckle was never considered qualified by professional historians of his time though he had gained a broad and preciously first-hand knowledge of European nations and their cultures. Buckle toured Europe extensively, learned to read nineteen languages and at one time amassed over twenty thousand books in his personal library. He had read most of the masterpieces of his time and had made careful notes.¹¹ A true Victorian, Buckle was liberal, hardworking, self-disciplined, confident of himself and positivistic. For example, he controlled his daily life rigidly to overcome his physical inadequacy. He eliminated any time-consuming habits including chess games in which he excelled. He was brave to criticize judicial illiberality, for example, the heavy penalty which a judge imposed on a drunken man for behaving disrespectfully to the Church. He was generous to alm-seekers but gave only after having personally investigated the background of people who asked for his help.¹²

As Montesquieu, Buckle sought to explore all the secrets of civilization. So for fifteen years he labored on his two-volumed *Introduction to the History*

of Civilization in England (1857-1861). When the first volume appeared in 1857 it was an immediate success in Europe and was translated into all major languages and reprinted many times. It was, for example, translated into German in 1860 and again in 1868; into French in 1868, and into Russian four times. It was particularly popular in the then developing nations such as Russia and the United States. A famous geography professor who toured Russia then claimed that he 'rarely had a serious conversation without hearing Buckle's name mentioned.'¹³ It was introduced to East Asia almost two decades later and had left crucial imprints there (but few Eurocentric historian had noted). At home, however, the positivistic book raised much controversy, being attacked by religious circles and traditional historians. He was criticized mainly for being critical and suspicious of the Church and overly confident in the human intellect and science.¹⁴ Established academics denigrated him as merely a 'brilliant amateur' who could not sustain his 'undeserved prominence.'¹⁵ Yet in spite of such harsh criticism from his contemporaries, Buckle was recognized by later historians to have contributed significantly to the adoption of social science techniques in historical investigations.¹⁶

Owing to his physical weakness, the second volume of the book did not appear until 1861. The next year he died of typhoid fever while searching for the roots of civilization in the Middle East. He never began the mammoth masterpiece he envisioned to which his two-volumed book was but the 'introduction.' It was this 'introduction' which was translated into Japan in 1875.

**VISIONS OF CULTURE:
FROM VICTORIAN ENGLAND
TO MEIJI JAPAN**

To the Japanese before the 1840 Opium War, civilization simply meant anything Chinese. In fact, few Asians would bother to question the supremacy of Chinese civilization or its relevance to contemporary or future times, bearing in mind the Chinese idealization of the alleged golden times of Classical China. After the forced entry of the West and the humiliation of the gigantic empire by the British, however, the Japanese were anxious to explore the secrets of Western civilization. It was in this opportune juncture that Buckle's work entered Japan. Carrying the basic assumptions of the European cultural historians discussed above, Buckle's work blended an entirely new attitude towards civilization among the Japanese. Firstly, advocating his own mother land — the then powerful Britain and her empire as the vanguard of civilization — Buckle easily replaced China with England as the cultural model, creating a need to redefine civilization beyond the traditional (or the Chinese) interpretations. Consequently, *the* civilized stage was no longer to be found in time immemorial but in Western modernity. The Chinese 'Golden Classical Ages' was abandoned. Thirdly, encouraged by the positivist approach, civilization seemed possible to be analysed or studied scientifically, and the principles of progress could be generalized.¹⁷ Such views were attractive to the Japanese as it raised not only the hope to be able to understand the secrets of Western success, but also optimistically implied that cultural backwardness could be 'cured.'

Moreover, advocating Great Britain as the champion of modern civilization, Buckle had built Victorian England into a national model for Japan. Buckle listed what he considered as cornerstones or basic requirements for culture to develop in a nation. Victorian England, to be sure, possessed all such requirements. To the Japanese, England's accomplishments (or characteristics), especially those they felt they lacked, were targets or criteria towards which Japanese modernizers should strive. In other words, what Buckle alleged Victorian England had accomplished constituted a set of criteria for Japan in the latter's quest for modernity.

To begin with, Buckle considered the advancement of the 'national intellect' the most important means to enlighten a nation.¹⁸ It is interesting to note that he stressed the advancement of the mind rather than material achievement or national power. This was, to be sure, to be accomplished through the advancement of education. His call was readily echoed by Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901) and several of his contemporaries who wrote to advance education, acknowledging Buckle's influence.¹⁹

To develop the intellect of a nation fully, Buckle stressed the need for liberty and toleration which guaranteed freedom from interference of spiritual and temporal authorities. He naturally found England a nation where intellect flourished freely:

Of all European countries England is the one where, during the longest period, the government has been most quiescent, and the people most active; where popular freedom has been settled on the widest basis; where each man is most able to say what he thinks,

and do what he likes; where everyone can follow his own bent, and propagate his own opinions; where, religious persecution being little known, the play and flow of the human mind may be clearly seen, unchecked by those restraints to which it is elsewhere subjected; . . . where hostile creeds flourish side by side, and rise and decay without disturbance, according to the wants of the people, unaffected by the wishes of the church, and uncontrolled by the authority of the state. . . .²⁰

A Japanese abridged and translated a chapter of his book which describes the free development of the national intellect in England.²¹

Buckle's opposition to government interference in a nation's search for civilization was extended to include freedom of speech. Several famous contributors to the *Meiroke zasshi* (*Meiji six journal*) abridged and translated part of a chapter of Buckle's book and entitled it 'Relying on Public Opinion Rather than on Government to Advance Civilization' and discussed his theory of free speech.²²

To the positivistic Buckle, only physical science constituted real knowledge. Metaphysics and theology, etc. did not. His inclination towards scientific explanations was vivid in his 'scientific' study of civilization and 'geographic determinism.' To him, for example, Europeans were far more superior to Asians owing to the geographical circumstances which dictated peoples' reactions.²³ Takayama Rinjiro (1871-1902) also earnestly discussed the relationship between climate, geographical environment and the characteristics of races and nations and upheld science as the real source of knowledge.²⁴ In a similar token, Fukuzawa asked the

Japanese to be more scientific.²⁵

Another indicator of a nation's advancement towards "civilization" was an increasingly democratic polity. Although Montesquieu's proposal that a republic was the most ideal polity was accepted by many Japanese,²⁶ Buckle saw no need to apologize for a representative government with a royal figurehead. Rather, he congratulated Great Britain for advancing towards representative government with no or little bloodshed, reflecting a sophisticated and tranquil political tradition.²⁷ Other European cultural historians advanced their own national experiences as samples, for example, Guizot praised France and her revolutionary tradition.²⁸ In general, however, most Meiji Japanese were concerned about their national security and favored the British reforms over the revolutionary traditions of France. Even the more radical and Francophile Mitsukuri Rinso, for example, conceded that few European peoples possessed true liberty besides the English since their advocates of liberty were generally 'too radical to complete their design.'²⁹

Yet another chief ingredient of a nation's civilization was the 'national character.' What stood out in Buckle's claim for the English character was the latter's addiction to independence.³⁰ This reverberated from Montesquieu's assertion that the English were 'independent' in spirit,³¹ and similar claims of Samuel Smiles' (1812-1904) in his *Self-Help* (1859).³² Fukuzawa, under the influence of such writings, advocated *dokuritsu jison* (Independence and Self-respect) — a virtue 'patterned after that of England.'³³

Buckle's book had not only fed the Japanese with the basic assumptions and attitudes towards civilization which

were prevalent in his time but had also 'spelt out' what appeared to be the basic ingredients of modern civilization. The European 'vision of culture' thus went eastward to the Meiji Japanese. The latter discussed these ingredients prescribed by Buckle and discussed heatedly in their journals the means to 'acquire' them. Moreover, a tide of cultural historiography rose in Japan scrutinizing her own national culture and examining the development of civilization in the West. This culture-orientation in the Japanese Meiji reform contrasted sharply with the 'technology and skills only' in China's Self-Strengthening Movement which paid little, if any, attention to Western culture. The Japanese scrutinized their own culture critically under the influence and with the help of the 'yardsticks' Buckle introduced. During this period, the Chinese sought the cure of their national weakness only in economic and military terms. It should be noted that when they did look to cultural issues the chief advocates for cultural reform came not from Chinese students sent earlier to Europe for 'practical' technology

but from those who went to Japan towards the end of the nineteenth century. They arrived at a Japan where the concern for civilization of Buckle and his disciples was prevalent. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (1873-1929), for example, the most influential intellectual in modern Chinese history, began talking about cultural issues once he set foot on Japanese soil.³⁴ The visions of European culture thus spreaded further into Asia.

In spite of his short career (and life span) Buckle had left an undeniable imprint on cultural historiography. Yet unlike Montesquieu or Guizot he had yet to be more thoroughly studied. Even less recognized is his impact on Meiji Japan (and subsequently, China). His importance as well as his neglected place in history was aptly summarized by a well-known historian:

Henry Thomas Buckle is the author of one work only, and an unfinished work at that. Nevertheless, his place in the history of ideas, in the growth of the social sciences as sciences, is securely assured. He was one of those pioneers whose work is rarely read today but whose influence permeates all subsequent developments.³⁵

NOTES

¹ The two terms 'culture' and 'civilization' are used interchangeably in this paper though they may have different connotations as interpreters of human progress in the nineteenth century entitled their works as histories of 'civilization' or 'culture' with no particular distinctions. For a specialist's opinion see Karl Weintraub, *Visions of Civilization: Voltaire, Guizot, Burckhardt, Lamprecht, Huizinga, Ortega Y. Gasset* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1966) 1. Weintraub observed that according to Clyde Kluckhohn, it was nearly impossible to provide a clear definition of either term. He himself thus used them interchangeably in his book.

² Kosaka Masaki, ed., *Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era*, trans. David Abosch, (Tokyo: Pan-Pacific, 1958) 54. See also Hane Mikiso, "English Liberalism and the Japanese Enlightenment, 1868-1890," diss., Yale U, 1957, 5; Kenneth B. Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan, Problem of Cultural Identity, 1885-1895* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1969) 148.

³ The earliest translation of Buckle's book appeared to be Oshima Sadamasu's *Eikoku kaikashi*

[*History of English Enlightenment*] published by the Translation Bureau in August, 1875. Guizot's *Histoire générale de la civilisation en Europe depuis la chute d'Empire Romain jusqu'à la Révolution Française* (1829-1832) appeared to be first translated beginning December, 1872; completed in May, 1875, by the Translation Bureau and appeared under the title *Seiyō kaika shi* [*History of Western Enlightenment*]. See Nōkan Shoichi, comp., *Nippon shoseki shuppan hyakunen shi nenhyō* [*Chronology of Japanese Publication in the Recent Hundred Years*] (Tokyo: Japanese Publishers Association, 1968) 41. Later translations included those by Fuita Kisaburo (1879) and Hideki Nagamine (1877).

- ⁴ Weintraub 75-114; George P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (Boston: Bacon Press, 1959) 178-84. For a good commentary on Guizot, see Douglas Johnson, *Guizot, Aspects of French History, 1787-1874* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963). For a brief discussion of Guizot's contribution to the visions of civilization in East Asia see Danny S.L. Paa, "The Vogue of France among Late-Ch'ing Chinese Revolutionaries: Metamorphosis and Interpretations," *Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong* 17 (1986) 363-386.
- ⁵ Gooch 523. Gooch considered François M. A. Voltaire's (1694-1778) *Essai sur les Moeurs* the 'first real history civilization.' For similar view, see Weintraub 2.
- ⁶ Buckle, "Letter to Lord Kintore" Feb. 1853, in Alfred H. Huth, *The Life and Writings of Henry Thomas Buckle* (N.Y., 1880) 63-64. See also, Gooch 523. Gooch used the term 'Kulturgeschichte' to describe the historiography of civilization which, according to him, was 'to weave numberless threads [of human progress] into a single design [of study]'. He also added that the emphasis of this school of historiography inclined more towards the non-political aspects of civilization.
- ⁷ Giles St. Aubyn, *A Victorian Eminence, the Life and Works of Henry Thomas Buckle* (London: Barrie Books Ltd., 1958) 120. Most cultural historians held the same view, including Montesquieu and Guizot. See Frederick Conder, special introduction, *Spirit of the Laws* by Montesquieu, rev. ed. (London: The Colonial Press, 1900), xi. Conder opined that the foundation of *The Spirit of Laws* was the attempt to find the principles which govern human behavior and progress. Also, Weintraub commented similarly on Guizot. See Weintraub 11.
- ⁸ These interpreters of civilization were also 'encyclopaedists' in approach. For example, Montesquieu spent twenty years writing his *Spirit of the Laws* and it took Buckle over fifteen years to write book. (In fact, he devoted the whole of his life to this two-volume work.) They undertook these massive works with complete confidence of their worth and their own abilities to accomplish them. Frederick Conder noted, for example, that Montesquieu exulted with 'a schoolboy's delight' at the completion of his book for then he '[would] not wholly die' having 'erected a monument more enduring than brass.' See Conder ix.
- ⁹ Weintraub 11. Weintraub observed that Voltaire believed in civilization, not civilizations. For a discussion of similar views of Buckle and Guizot, see Danny S. L. Paa, "Visions of Civilization: National Images of England and France among Chinese Journalists, 1895-1919," diss. U of Georgia, 1979, 59-60.
- ¹⁰ Shibusawa Keizo, comp., ed. *Japanese Society in the Meiji Era*, trans. A. H. Culbertson and Kimura Michiko (Tokyo: Obunsha, 1958) 70. See also Yoshino Sakuzo, ed., *Meiji bunka zenshu* [*Complete Collection of Meiji Culture*] 24 vols. (Tokyo: Japan Forum, 1927-30) 7: 561. See that in the list of history books in English, Buckle's was considered the most influential. For the tide of cultural history in Japan under Buckle's influence see Kenneth B. Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan, Problems of Cultural Identity, 1885-1895* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1969) 63-64;

- 87-88. Pyle noticed the influence of Buckle and Guizot on the Japanese interest in the national cultural history of Japan. Among those mentioned were Miyake Setsurei (1860-1945), Shiga Shigetaka (1863-1927) and Taguchi Ukichi (1855-1905). See p. 61 for Buckle's influence on Miyake Setsuri; pp. 87-88 for the influence on Taguchi Ukichi. See also, Sung Ch'eng-yu and Shen Jen-en, "Ming-chih-wei-hsin yü Jih-pen shih-hsüeh [The Meiji Reform and Japanese Historiography] in Shih-chieh li-shih (World History [Publishers]) comp., *Ming-chih-wei-hsin te tsai t'an-t'ui* [The Meiji reform revisited] (Peking: The Chinese Institute of Social Sciences Studies, 1981) 156-57.
- ¹¹ See the materials and notes collected in Helen Taylor, ed. with a biographical note, *Miscellaneous and Posthumous Works of Henry Thomas Buckle* 3 vols. (London: Longmans & Co., 1872). Also, his *History of Civilization in England* carries a 15-page list of books consulted, citing over 600 works covering most major writers of his time.
- ¹² For details of Buckle's life see Giles St. Aubyn, *Victorian Eminence*.
- ¹³ John M. Robertson, *Buckle and His Critics, A Study in Sociology* (London, 1895) 110. Professor M. Wallace reported that his friends in Russia thought that Buckle had succeeded in creating a genuine science in history.
- ¹⁴ n.a. "Examination of Buckle's History of Civilization in Europe by a Country Clergyman" *The Christian Observer* Sept. 1858. Reprinted. (London, 1858) 3. The anonymous clergyman perhaps summed up the main points of criticism of the religious circles best with the following excerpts:
- It [Buckle's book] idolizes intellectual power, depreciates morality and discards all religious faith. . . . [What was most irritating was the] immoral and anti-Christian tone of that heartless fatalism which pervades the whole book.
- For a comprehensive study of the criticisms levied against Buckle, see Johnson's book.
- ¹⁵ Leslie Stephens, *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: 1886) 7: 208-11.
- ¹⁶ Gooch 534; Hans Kohn, introduction, *History of Civilization in England*, Clement Wood, summarized and abridged, (N.Y.: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1964) v.
- ¹⁷ Henry T. Buckle *Introduction to the History of Civilization in England*, new and rev. ed., (N.Y.: Albert and Charles Boni Co., 1925) 1-4; See also, Alfred H. Huth, *The Life and Writings of Henry Thomas Buckle* (N.Y., 1880) 62; For Guizot's views see Guizot 9-11; and Weintraub 91.
- ¹⁸ Buckle 110-27.
- ¹⁹ Fukuzawa, *Gakumon no susume*, in *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshu* [Complete works of Fukuzawa] (Tokyo: Central Forum, 1969) 487-88; see also 44; Nakakamigawa Hikoïro, abridged and trans., "Igrisu ō Jōwui Sansai zai ichū naikoku ni kansuru seihu no shochi" [The government under King George III of England], *Minkan Zasshi* [People's journal] 2 (June, 1874), in *MBZ* 18: 279-81. This appeared to be part of Buckle's Chapter VII. Another example is Naka Tsusei's, "Kyōhōron" [On Education and Law], in *Minkan Zasshi*, 4 (July, 1874) in *MBZ* 18: 286-88.
- ²⁰ Buckle 133.
- ²¹ Mitsukuri Rinso, trans., "Relying on Public Opinion Rather than on Government to Advance Civilization" *Meiroku zasshi* [Meiji six journal] W. R. Braisted, trans. (Tokyo, Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1976) 7 (May, 1874): 91-92 (Hereafter as *MZ*). This was the section of "Influence of Government on the Progress of Society," chapter V of Buckle's book. See also, Tsuda Mamichi, "On Desiring Freedom of the Press," *MZ* 6 (undated): 72-73.
- ²² Buckle 19; 87-96.
- ²³ *Ibid.* 22-86.

- ²⁴ Takayama Rinjiro, *Sekai bummei shi [History of World Civilization]* (Tokyo: Literary Institute, 1930 c. 1900) 22-33. Like Buckle, Takayama examined the relationship between climate, geography and characteristics of races. For Buckle's influence on Ienaga and Fukumoto, see Pyle 92, f.n. 45.
- ²⁵ Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Autobiography* Eiichi Kiyooka, rev., trans. (N.Y.: Columbia UP, 1966) xi.
- ²⁶ Mikiso Hane, "English Liberalism and the Japanese Enlightenment, 1868-1890," diss. Yale U, 1957, 18; 228; 235.
- ²⁷ Buckle 234-35; 343-44.
- ²⁸ Guizot 254.
- ²⁹ D. W. Carrithers, ed., *The Spirit of Laws* by C. L. de Montesquieu (Berkeley: Berkeley UP, 1977) 14. See also, Nishimura Shigeki, "Three Types of Political System," *MZ* 28 (Feb. 1875): 346-48.
- ³⁰ Buckle 75.
- ³¹ Carrithers, introduction, *The Spirit of Laws* 24.
- ³² Samuel Smiles, rev. enlarged ed., *Self-Help: With Illustrations of Character, Conduct and Perseverance* (N.Y., 1871) 147.
- ³³ Fukuzawa, *Gakumon no susume* 63.
- ³⁴ Paau, "Visions of Civilization," 94; 101-52.
- ³⁵ Kohn v.



On Philippine Literature

Hsin Kwan-chue

(邢光祖)

*"For know that a better, fresher, busier sphere,
A wider, untried domain awaits, demands you."
— Walt Whitman, "Song of Exposition"*

Roughly speaking, Philippine literature has undergone five periods.¹ The first extends from the earliest times to the coming of the Spaniards to the islands. According to the literary historian, Teofilo del Castillo y Tuason, the period is characterized by "the creation of epics, riddles, proverbs, legends and lyrics. The various crafts and the trades of the people were made vivid and dramatized and their ideals and aspirations were given utterance. The rich beauties of nature also found expression. It was a remarkable period because the literature sprang from the people themselves."² Indeed, the period is remarkable because the people at that time had not lost the inherent singing strength, and the power of "dream-thinking and wish-phantasies." In the childhood of the race, the Filipinos, like the other peoples, had their folk tales, myths, legends, and songs. Theirs were the songs of a people genuinely in love with life, untouched by the cruelties of the mankind and the world in which they lived was one where no shadows fell, unclouded over with a suffused reflected glare from the

earth but with the brightness of the sun shining at noonday. The regret is that the written records were largely destroyed by the early Christian missionaries and only fragments of them were later restored and preserved in the *Povedano Manuscript*.³

With the advent of the Spaniards, the "Dark Ages" descended upon the archipelago. The epoch extended from 1565 to 1820. Ferdinand Magellan, upon landing in the islands, professed his mission would be accomplished with the cross and the sword, but he conquered the Kingdom of Macton more by his sword than by the cross. The Ministers of the Colonies, representing the King in Madrid, exercised the combined authority of the legislative, executive and judiciary and with their dictatorial power, they prohibited the publication of any books, literary or otherwise, not strictly in conformity with Christian dogma and forbade the entrance into the Philippine of books, pamphlets and articles without censorship. Worse still, they refused to regard the indigenous as equal members of the human race.⁴ As the state of things

became so deplorable, the Filipinos were then very resentful with their Spanish masters, and the seeds of liberty began to grow among themselves.

The second period of Philippine literature turned out to be "an era of imitation and decadence," according to the same historian, Castillo, largely due to the domination of Spain. Creative writing gave way to cheap imitation, primitive simplicity to feverish hedonism. There was absolutely no trace of Lope de Vega's pastoral comedy or Tirso de Molina's religious drama nor was there any philosophical treatise in line with Saint Thomas Aquina's *Summa Theologiae* or Saint Augustine's *Confessions* worth mentioning introduced into the Philippines during the period. The missionaries, "reading contemporary Spanish and native literature with one eye toward heaven and the other toward hell," were chiefly concerned with writing and printing religious works following the dictate of Madrid. The literary fashion of the day was the *passion* and the *Marian Hymns*, both of which were characterized by monotony of theme.

However, there was one of the popular forms of self-entertainment among the Filipino peasants during fiestas in rural barrios, called *balagtasan*, a kind of spontaneous debating in verse, to test wit rather than reason, which might be one of the Filipino national characteristics, as can be seen in the Philippine politics. To the same heritages belonged *duplo* and *karagatan* of the period, dramatic debates employed to fulfill social requirements at a wake, to relieve the living during the interval between religious rituals. We are told that it would take two days to recite the epics of the Ifugaos, heirs to the ancient mountain rice terraces, such

as the *Hudhud* which relates the creation of the universe and tribal progenitors, and the *Alim*, like the Indian *Ramayana*, which describes collective life among the Gods. There were also Moro epics of considerable length, which might take a whole week to recite.⁵

The third was a renaissance period in Philippine literature which began with the governmental separation of the island country from Mexico in 1820 and continued until the beginning of the end of Spanish rule in 1895. The contact with West Europe and the development of the educational institutions brought forth the liberal thoughts among the Filipino people, especially the intellectuals. Although the cream of Philippine literature was produced in this period, yet the *locus* of literary renaissance was Europe owing to the rigid suppression of free expression in the islands. Jose Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere* was published in Berlin, and *El Filibusterismo* in Ghent, Belgium. The *Diariang Tagalog* and *La Solidaridad*, both mouthpieces of the literary movement of this period, were published out of the islands and then smuggled back.

The fourth period from 1895 to 1908 was a period of revolutionary and nationalistic literature. It began with the martyrdom of Rizal in whose death the nation came to life. It was characterized by revolutionary fervor and nationalistic spirit. In their struggle for freedom and independence, the Filipinos who had met defeat in battlefields resorted to the pen as a weapon. A few names of the periodicals such as *Liberty*, *The Herald of Revolution*, *Independence*, and *La Justicia* during the revolution and those like *El Nuevo Dia*, *El Grito del Pueblo* and *El Renacimiento* in the American era would

show the spiritual unrest as well as the intellectual chaos of the Filipino people during a time when they were fighting desperately against the Western colonialism. The literature of this period was more political than moral while the artists in arms had more heart than head. The literary success of the fourth period, if any, lies in arousing the people's patriotism and enhancing their fighting spirit.

With the establishment of the Philippine Commonwealth, Filipino literature entered its fifth period. In this period, with the exception of the four years of war against the Japanese warlords, the Filipino people had regained their national self-consciousness and their literary production begins to reflect the predominant characteristics of Philippine life. During the fifty or so years of literary cultivation, there have been a few flowers, fresh and delicate, but only too few. The Filipino writers have been engaged perpetually in a wrangle between language and literature, imitation and originality, literary writing and journalism, and nationalism and *Weltanschauung*. In many respects, Philippine literature today is still characterized by what has been humbly and justly called "apprenticeship."⁶

There is, of course, a close relationship between the development of language and that of literature in the Philippines, as elsewhere. The Filipinos, in their efforts of linguistic reconstruction, have undergone rebirth pains. It should be noted that the languages of this island country are variously estimated as numbering from fifty-five to one hundred ninety-two languages or dialects. Many serious writers on the subject admit the total number of recognizable languages to be eighty-seven,⁷ none of

which can be called the national language. There are three official languages in the Philippines, namely, the English, the Spanish and Tagalog. Among these three, the English stands first and foremost, for it remains the language of almost eight-five percent of the inhabitants of the Philippines. Spanish, once the only official language during the period of Spanish domination and still the language of those over fifty or sixty years of age in all large towns, is losing its importance despite the effort of those in the administration to prolong its use. Tagalog, the official "national" language of the Philippine Republic since 1937, is spoken by several millions of people in Luzon islands. It is still limited in its extent, since those who speak Visayan, Ilocano, Bikol or Moro tongues resent its adoption and discourage its use. Many Filipino linguists, in their assiduous and arduous efforts to make Tagalog the *lingua commune* among the people, have tinged the study of the value of the language itself with nationalistic sentiments and have tried to make it recognizable by "grammarizing" and "systemizing" the dialect, resulting in the creation of an ever-increasing chasm between the Tagalog of the literati and that of the common people. Contributing to the adoption of a foreign tongue is the fact that it will take from fifty to two hundred years before Tagalog can be made the truly national language of the Philippines and even then there will have to be a complementary language, since Tagalog is ill-adapted either by the vocabulary or grammatical structure to serve as a commercial language, nor will it have greater success as a world language than Hungarian or Finnish.

It is beyond doubt that no national

literature can be produced without a language common to the whole people. But to impose a dialect upon the members of other dialect groups unwilling to accept and to adopt a comparatively inferior native tongue by abandoning a foreign language which has been spoken and written among eighty-five percent of the people for half a century seem to be no solution to the linguistic problem of today. Many of our Filipino friends believe, as Walt Whitman does, that language "has its bases broad and low, close to the ground" and that "its final decisions are made by the masses, people nearest the concrete, having most to do with actual land and sea." But the problem is that the native tongue in the Philippines, according to Rizal, the greatest hero and poet the nation has ever produced, has long been lost. He wrote in 1869:

"Whenever people of a country truly
love
The language which by heav'n they
were taught to use,
That country also surely liberty pursues
As does the bird which soars to freer
space above. . . .

* * * * *

"Tagalog and the Latin language are
the same
And English and Castillian and the
angel's tongue,
And God, whose watchful care o'er
all is flung,
Has given us His blessing in the speech
we claim.

* * * * *

"Our mother tongue, like all the highest
that we know
Has alphabet and letters of its very own;
But these were lost — by furious waves
were overthrown
Like bancas in the stormy sea, long

years ago."

* * * * *

Rizal might be wrong, for it is not that the native tongue has been lost but that there is no native language at all in the Philippines which can be a medium of communication between all the members of the dialect groups. It is a pity to see the ultra-nationalists among the linguists dig deep in the soil only to find that the native tongue is not there. It is also inconceivable that the people who have spoken and written in a foreign language for half a century and have almost mastered it abandon it at last!

Since the days of Rizal, national consciousness, it can be noted, has been the predominant element in the matter of Philippine literature as well as language. Since the political *sturm und drang* at the turn of the century, the pen in the hands of Filipino men of letters has become an ally of the sword. They have achieved literary independence long before political independence. Nationalism, the magic word in the mouths of the politicians, has encroached into the literary field to the extent that there is no literature but nationalism. But there is a big difference between literary productions of Rizal's days and those of later writers. *Noli Me Tangere* is a literature of "exposure" — exposure of evils and *El Filibusterismo* is a literature of propaganda — a propaganda of the truth. "Take care," says Rizal to his comrades, "not to insert exaggerations or lies, nor to imitate those who make use of dishonest means and of low and unworthy language to gain their ends. . . . We must teach our enemies that, speaking morally and humanly, we are better than they are.

We can win our cause by speaking the truth, because right and justice are on our side."⁸ This strikes the note of realism in the eighteenth-century Europe and also of what is now called "positive realism." But the writings of later periods, as in the case of *El Renacimiento*, are irresponsible and unreasonable propaganda, which, though expressing the national feeling of a conquered race, do not express the truth.⁹ Rizal's nationalism was a bitter cry of a soul when the nation was under the scourge of a foreign rule whereas contemporary writers and politicians talk of nationalism only after independence has already been secured. Rizal was concerned with literature as much as with nationalism whilst contemporary writers are concerned with no literature but politics.

As the social cancer in the days of Rizal was evils, so the social cancer of today in the Philippines, as a writer has aptly pointed out,¹⁰ is politics. This explains one of the reasons why there is so little literature in the island country. The flowers of the youth busy themselves with the study of law rather than the pursuit of "sweetness and light," with one eye toward the bar and the other toward behind it. So much energy has been spent by politicians both in the administration and in the capital before and after the election, and there is nothing left for literary pursuit. The deadly disease infests the whole neighborhood, the whole country. Politicians will advertise that liberty and the nation are at stake when it is not liberty and the nation that worry them but their own careers. These intelligentsmen (to coin a word) of the Philippines seem to have one aim in mind, that is, to mount higher and higher on the official ladder and keep

one commandment — the eleventh. The word "nationalism" serves as an open sesame and eloquence finds its form in the filibuster. For one who dares to collect materials for a Philippine version of *A Book of Nobs and Snobs*, here's devil's plenty. It is politics, the social cancer, that deprives the Philippines of such an essayist as Jose P. Laurel, the Filipino Bacon or Cicero. It is politics, the social cancer, that kills the fine frenzy in the man Claro M. Recto. It is politics, the social cancer of today, that has led many a Filipino genius away from the royal path to culture.

Another factor contributing to the comparative paucity of literary productions in the Philippines is certain practices of Catholicism. In this connection one may recall how the bill to adopt Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo* as school textbooks caused a great commotion among the Filipinos when it was deliberated in the Senate in 1954. It is as clear as noonday that Rizal's novels were not against the religion but only against the friar tyranny. The irony is that those Filipinos who claimed themselves as the followers of Rizal and fought for the freedom of the country were the very Filipinos who were lending the Church a helping hand in the opposition to the bill. This, however, is only mentioned by the way. What the present writer wants to point out is that Catholicism in its efforts to dogmatize human conduct and to impose laws on human expression has left for the Philippines nothing but a collection of writings which represent life as emptied of reflection and emotion, and morals as unconnected with reality and society. The medieval oligarch, as an American critic said well, believed

in hell and knew that the saints walked with God; his spiritual armor was never wholly impenetrable to the poet's warning cry.

The Philippines has not yet undergone industrization, but the materialistic spirit is everywhere. Since writers must eat and pay the rent and literary writing does not make money, a large portion of Philippine literature is forced to deny its soul and reduce itself to journalism. This accounts for the boom of the press and the scarcity of literature — the real, the pure literature. It has to renounce all life for one pitiful but noisy form of life and restrict the range of its visions to that of the bread-givers

among the so-called reading public. It becomes a worthless, crippled and artificial thing — a timid homily or a mild decoration. And there must be a distinction between literature and journalism, and it has been well said that literature in the Philippines, as elsewhere, is *unread* and journalism is *unreadable*. There might be some truth in the Chinese saying that poetry and poverty are twin brothers and only those who know how to live on coconuts and bananas can write genuine poetry. No true poet can emerge and no singing strength of the Philippines can assert itself until and unless our Filipino friends realize this truism.

NOTES

- ¹ The division of the history of Philippine literature is based upon Teofilo del Castillo y Tuason, *A Brief History of Philippine Literature* (Manila, 1930), with Francisco G. Tonobanua, *A Survey of Filipino Literature* as secondary reference.
- ² Castillo: *A Brief History of Philippine Literature*, 14.
- ³ Tonobanua, *A Survey of Filipino Literature*, 1.
- ⁴ One of the folk songs in the Philippines: "We are animals as the Spaniards often call us. We can't insist on our rights."
- ⁵ See the entry on "Philippine Poetry" in *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, eds. Alex Preminger et als, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 613.
- ⁶ The University of the Philippines' Writers' Club has for years published a collection of poems and short stories under the title of *Literary Apprentice*.
- ⁷ Richard N. Thompson, *Language of the Philippines*, 51.
- ⁸ *Epistolario Rizalino* 2: 152.
- ⁹ Joseph Ralston Hayden, *The Philippines* (New York, n.d.) 607.
- ¹⁰ Philip Sexton in his column on the *Evening News*, (June 15, 1954) pointed out that "politics is a cancer in the Philippines of today."

The Emergence and Challenge of Palauan Women in Micronesia¹

Francesca K. Remengesau

The future of Micronesia is a subject often discussed these days, especially with regard to its political development. It was in 1969 that the first formal structures were created by the then "Congress of Micronesia" and the U.S. Congress to examine and debate the various options for framing a political status which would be acceptable to Micronesians and Americans. The U.S. Department of the Interior, of course, was also involved in these political status developments. It is only now — nearly twenty years later — that these various political status options of "free association"² and "commonwealth status"³ are taking firm shape and being implemented throughout the islands to the satisfaction of most of the people concerned.

The future of Micronesia with regard to its economic development is also a much discussed topic. In recent years the Japanese have been the largest investors and they are expected to continue their assistance in the future. Fisheries development, and the fees

paid for fishing rights by foreign nations, have also been seen as a good means for the new Micronesian governments to gain a regular and reliable income.

There is however, another development — one that has been largely ignored in Micronesia — which is very important socially, and which I believe will have perhaps the greatest effect on the future development of Micronesia, and that is the changing status and roles of the islands' women. Such changes have taken place most visibly in Palau in recent years, and this might be because Palauans have a reputation of being energetic and forward-thinking to an extent greater than many of their neighbors. A woman has already served in the Palau legislature, and during the last general elections four women ran.

These changes in the roles and status of Micronesian women began with the end of World War II and the arrival of the Americans. While the Japanese before them had established a large and comprehensive school system in Micronesia, it was segregated — separate

schools for Micronesians (kogakko) and Japanese (shogakko) children — and the schools were limited as to what one could study and how far one could go. The American system was more egalitarian. A Micronesian student was able to go as far in schooling as his or her native abilities would allow. The girls were enrolled and encouraged, and I was myself part of all this development.

With the continued education of the women and their advancement steadily into secondary and postsecondary programs, their social roles started to change, and, of course, their view of themselves also began to change dramatically. I attended school in my village up to the sixth grade and then went to the district center at Koror to continue my education at the intermediate school for three years. This was a boatride of six hours, and so I lived with my aunt, visiting home only on holidays and during seasonal recesses.

Growing up in Palau, I learned at a very young age that certain chores around the house were done by women only, such as taking care of the family, raising children, cooking, working in the taro patch, truck gardening, washing clothes and generally looking after the men. For their part, the men went fishing, built houses, canoes, climbed the coconut and betelnut trees, gathered firewood, and — as head of the households — did much of the thinking and made most decisions for the family. This is not to suggest that the women were shunted aside. They are not in traditional Palauan society, for they have important sway in the community. Ours is a matrilineal culture and property is thus passed through the women's line, not the men's. Women, in fact, choose the male chiefs in Palau tradi-

tionally, although the men invest them. This naturally means great power and influence for women, although on the surface it appears that women are on the bottom of the social scheme in the islands because we are expected to remain behind the scene; in public we are supposed to be "seen but not heard."

This notion of being seen but not heard on the part of Micronesian women is beginning to change in Palau and throughout Micronesia. Specifically, Micronesian women are beginning to challenge men's roles within the rapidly changing social scene, and this is creating difficulties for everyone concerned.

The most important new development for Micronesian women is education. A new day began for many women in the islands when WWII ended and they had the chance to go to school under the American administration for as much education as their own intellect and energy would allow them. Under the Japanese they would have only been able to attend school (kogakko) for a maximum of five years. There were many Palauan women in this immediate generation who took advantage of these new educational opportunities, and as a result many of them today are quite well educated.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s when massive scholarship programs were instigated by the American administration, thousands of Micronesians went off to colleges in the United States. Several years ago when the Micronesian Area Research Center at the University of Guam did a study on some of these Micronesian college students,⁴ they discovered that oftentimes the women did better in college than the men; that is, the women had a better record of completing their degrees before returning

to the islands. This was partly due to the fact that many Micronesian men, when faced with the expected problems of homesickness and cultural adjustment away from home, frequently turned to heavy drinking, which, in turn led to dropping-out or being expelled from college and going home early.

This was not the case with the women. This is not to say that Micronesian women do not drink. Of course they do, and unfortunately some drink to excess; however, when despondent or depressed, they do not as often turn to the bottle as men do. In Micronesia, it seems, women are not given to drinking; rather they are prone to be raised to take care of drunken men. And this favorable propensity has helped them considerably to get along in America and in the west.

In the United States Palauan women get along very well with their American sisters who are "liberated" by comparison, and who, nowadays share many household responsibilities with their male counterparts. I believe also, that Micronesian women strive especially hard to achieve as a way of gaining recognition and demonstrating that we can achieve as much as any other group can.

What we are seeing as a result of all this social amelioration, is that large numbers of Micronesian women are returning to their islands with degrees and who, on paper at any rate, appear as capable and as qualified as the men. The trouble is that the women will not be chosen for the available jobs as often as the men, because of the traditional cultural realities which reserve professional and technical positions for men. Today there are many capable and qualified Micronesian women in our islands without suitable employment.

This is indeed a regrettable situation but, I think, one which will not continue for long. There are manifold problems in Belau and throughout Micronesia which beg attention and solution. There are the social ones of alcoholism, drugs, and crime; all on the increase. And there are economic and political ones of dependency and self-assertion and identity. Everyone involved who is serious about all these problems are earnestly working to overcome them, but the women are certainly under-represented at present. And they are becoming increasingly disconcerted over it.

Today, there are only about half a dozen women throughout the islands holding appointed offices at somewhat high levels in the new governments this is certainly not enough. These women are college-educated; articulate and energetic; most are married and have children — and they increasingly associate with one another. As more of them assume appointive executive roles, as well as gain elected offices, we shall see a new day dawning in the creative efforts to solve many of the societal ills which plague Micronesia now; for many of these women are quite formidable. In the last national election in Palau there were four women on the ballot, as mentioned earlier. They were, unfortunately, all unsuccessful. However, in the forthcoming elections we shall see even more than this number on the ballot, and we hope some of them will win.

Aside from the occasional male exclamation of: "The place of women is in the taro patch!", for the most part the men are supportive of the women's efforts to advance themselves within the Micronesian society. Of

the four women who ran unsuccessfully for elected office in the last Palau national election, it was generally agreed that it was the other women who were mostly responsible for their defeats. It is undoubtedly true that in Micronesia today it is the women who are their own worst enemies. This is not an uncommon phenomenon, and we have seen it elsewhere in the world where the women have begun to emerge. Undoubtedly, it is good that women criticize themselves most, because that will most certainly lead to greater strength and contribution later on.

Of course, no discussion of women anywhere is really worthwhile unless it is attended also by some discussion of men. The men in Palau and throughout Micronesia hold the public leadership positions, but it is not clear yet that "behind everyone of them is a woman." We still observe that the officials' ladies often take a backseat and remain almost completely out of the limelight. While this might be a regrettable situation, it is not untenable or futile. We may probably soon see many men in Micronesia — especially in the younger generation — who will see the great value of their marriage partners as partners also in their public and professional lives insofar as that would be appropriate.

Some social scientists have made the presumption of dividing Micronesian into three broad social groupings: The first grouping is the older generation. They are traditional people and their fathers were not even literate — or barely literate. They were born and raised in the German or Japanese times, and they subscribe to the traditional social scheme of things. Among them are today's traditional leaders and chiefs. The second grouping is composed of

most of today's political leaders — in the age-bracket of forties and fifties. They were born in the Japanese times, but schooled and brought to maturity in the American times. They are, to a large extent, between two cultures. The wives of these men are usually more traditional than modern, although they can be seen frequently moving into the more modern social scene. The third grouping is composed of the young, or new generation. They are born and raised completely in the American times, and have been largely educated in the United States. These young men are not content with having the traditional, Micronesian woman, and are seeking something else, especially when choosing a mate. It might not always be clear as to exactly what they seek in a mate, but I think it leans toward the emerging modern Micronesian woman whom I've attempted to characterize earlier. These young men of the new generation can see the benefits of a complementary woman, although they might not be sure just how this might express itself — the complementarity — in their own modern Micronesian context. But the women are helping them to find it out, and I think we will see a lot of change come about because of this in the near future. It is not only that the modern, young Micronesian male now recognizes more the benefits of complementarity, but also that what it takes to be complementary in Micronesia is in itself changing, and requires social flexibility.

There are three more observations and assertions that can be made. First, the concerns of the women in Palau and throughout Micronesia cannot be separated from the larger concerns and wider desires of all Micronesians for their own cultural identity and growing

expressions of responsible self-determination. Second, despite the influence of Western — and particularly American — socialization and education, Micronesian women are looking more toward their sisters in the wider Pacific for support, information exchange, and political modeling and mobilization. Third, what the modern Micronesian woman seeks is not unlike what women everywhere in the world seek: a recognized and self-determined identity and economic equality. But the recent colonization and outside influences have created another overlay which has to be broken through.

Altogether, we have a new kind of

woman emerging in Micronesia in the 1980s. She is a woman with special challenges and responsibilities; she is between tradition and modernity and attempts to amalgamate these two facets of her life in the most up-to-date context. She is college-educated, articulate and forthright, and with a keen sense of competition. Her profile is low in comparison to men, but her ambition and determination is high. I am happy and proud to be among these Micronesian women, and I will always be in the front row to cheer on the new ones who emerge and make the needed and worthwhile contributions to our developing society and economy.

NOTES

¹Based on a presentation made at the West German Pacific Symposium, sponsored by the Institut für Internationale Begegnungen e.V., Bonn, West Germany, 22-26 May 1987. I am especially grateful to Winfried Boll, Ministerialdirektor, and to Professor Hanns Buchholz of Hannover University for their kind assistance and recognition.

²There are three new political entities in Micronesia that are "freely associated" with the United States as a result of more than fifteen years of political status negotiations. These are: The Republic of Belau, the former District of Palau under the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI); the Federated States of Micronesia, the former Districts of Yap, Truk, Pohnpei, and Kosrae; and, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, formerly the District of the Marshall Islands.

³The Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands is formerly the Marianas District under the TTPI. The people there choose to have a closer political association with the United States than "free association" provided for.

⁴Randall Workman, et. al., *Island Voyagers in New Quests: A Study of Degree Completion Among Micronesian College Students* (Guam: Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, 1981).

Two Chess Masters: One Chinese Way: A Comparison of Chang Hsi-kuo's and Chung Ah-ch'eng's *Ch'i wang**

Michael S. Duke

INTRODUCTION

It would be difficult to imagine two more different places existing at the same time, the early 1970s, being inhabited by the same race of people with the same cultural background, and separated geographically by a mere hundred mile wide strip of water. On the one side is rural China shortly after the high tide of the Cultural Revolution: an era in which millions of "educated youth" — high school students and former Red Guards who might have been expected to go on to become China's future intellectual elite — had been sent down to "learn from the peasants" in an unprecedented experiment in de-modernization; widespread material deprivation due to the disruption of productivity caused by the Maoist policies of "politics in command"; a cultural desert where Chiang Ch'ing's eight revolutionary model operas and *The Quotations of Chairman Mao* or works modeled closely upon them were the only allowable texts for novels, stories,

poems, and films alike, and where even such reading matter and such film entertainments were rarely available; a place where country people might gather in their thousands and stand for hours in the heat and dust to watch an instantly legendary "educated youth" play mental chess with nine regional champions at the same time to earn the title of "chess master." On the other side of the Taiwan straits is urban Taipei, a teeming Chinese city of one and a half million souls in headlong flight toward what would become known world wide as one of the "economic miracles" of the post-war world: a land of dizzying economic rise and fall where bright young men with the right connections or great good fortune or both could make a killing almost overnight; an island republic hell bent for Chinese style capitalist, industrialist, "modernization" based on a hard working and frugal army of ex-peasant girls skillfully employed in "export processing zones" turning out cheap but durable products for the world market and managed by

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an elite class of foreign educated returned Ph.Ds; a cultural kaleidoscope where, despite strict political and moral censorship, almost anything western and not overtly leftist was available to read, to listen to, and to watch on the silver screen, and where new forms of modern Chinese literature arose, experimentally awkward and inauthentic at first, but later skillfully blending western narrative techniques with perennial Chinese ideas and sentiments; a place where, "distracted from distraction to distraction," millions would sit glued to their television screens until four in the morning watching their little league teams defeat the United States in Florida and very few would even notice the crowning of a ten year old boy as "chess master" after defeating an adult champion.

Two young writers, Chang Hsi-kuo and Chung Ah-ch'eng, however, wrote two excellent stories narrating the events leading up to the momentous victories of two young fictional chess masters. *The Chess Master*, a 198 page novel in sixteen short chapters, was published in Taiwan in 1975, and Chung Ah-ch'eng's twenty page "long short story" (*chung-p'ien hsiao-shuo*) "The Chess Master" was published in Shanghai in 1984.¹ The authors' backgrounds are as disparate as the differing milieux of their stories. Born in Chungking in 1944, Chang Hsi-kuo grew up in Taiwan, received a B.S. degree from National Taiwan University and an M.S. and Ph.D. in Electrical Engineering from the University of California at Berkeley. He has been a prolific fiction writer for a decade and a half while rising through the academic ranks to become Professor of Information Engineering at the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle with a string of technical publications

totaling three books and over fifty papers.² Chung Ah-ch'eng was also born in Szechwan, in 1949, and received his elementary and high school education during the first seventeen years of the People's Republic. In 1968, upon graduation from senior middle school, he was sent down to learn from the peasants and spent several years in Shansi, Inner Mongolia, and Yun-nan before returning to Peking where he now works as the general director of a plastics corporation. The son of a film critic out of favor during the Cultural Revolution, Ah-ch'eng was originally an amateur painter before his friends urged him to turn his well known gift for storytelling toward narrative fiction. "The Chess Master" is the first of a projected series of "eight masters" (*pa-wang*) two other stories of which have already appeared.³ Thus we have here the very epitome of a western educated Chinese intellectual living abroad and a Cultural Revolution "educated youth" with no formal intellectual training.

Both of them turned to narrative fiction and both of them wrote stories, albeit of different length and genre, with the same identical title. This coincidence of title is not very surprising considering the ease with which someone may be nicknamed "master" or "king," the literal meaning of *wang* in colloquial Chinese, for all sorts of banal as well as serious activities. What is truly remarkable and what I hope to demonstrate in this paper is the many striking similarities in form and meaning between these two stories by two young Chinese men with such different personal histories. An analysis of these two artistically excellent works of fiction will prove instructive in terms of the way they exemplify both the mentality

of modern Chinese intellectuals and the continued persistence of some fundamental values of traditional Chinese civilization despite an immersion in western scientific education or a frontal attack by pre-modern Chinese forms of anti-intellectualism and cultural philistinism. It may also shed some light on the question of the absence of western-style literary modernism in twentieth century Chinese letters. I shall begin with a brief synopsis of each story, then discuss various important similarities of form and meaning, and close with certain salient differences resulting from differences of scale and authorial background.

SYNOPSIS

The unnamed first person narrator of Ah-ch'eng's "The Chess Master," an educated youth whose Rightist parents died in the Cultural Revolution, tells the story of his experiences living in the countryside and the activities of a skinny "Chess Nut" (*ch'i tai-tzu*) named Wang Yi-sheng whom he meets on the train from the city. On the train he tells Wang how he survived wandering around like a wolf after his parents died, and Wang tells him how he became addicted to chess as a high school student and learned the unbeatable Daoist Way of Chess from a remarkable old man, and adept (*yi-jen*, "extraordinary one") who collected and sold waste paper for a living. Several months later Wang Yi-sheng visits the narrator's work place and defeats a cultured young educated youth of good family background, Ni Pin, in mental chess. When a provincial chess tournament is held at the farm headquarters, Wang Yi-sheng arrives too late to enter. Ni Pin, bribes the local

Party Cultural Secretary to let Wang compete, but Wang himself, to everyone's surprise, refuses the Secretary's backdoor arrangement. In the final climactic scene Wang Yi-sheng plays mental chess against the nine top winners and defeats them all under the entranced gaze of several thousand rural folk attracted into town by news of the spectacle. When only one player remains, it turns out to be the aging scion of a big local family who had just won the tournament. He comes into town, apologizes to Wang for being unable to play him face to face due to age and infirmity, asks Wang to allow him to save face by considering their game a draw despite Wang's obvious advantage, and exclaims that having met such a remarkable young man he is confident that "the Way of Chinese chess has not really degenerated after all."

Narrated with third person neutral omniscience, Chang Hsi-kuo's *Chess Master* uses the character of a mysteriously clairvoyant ten year old boy known only as the "Five Piece Go Prodigy" (*wu-tzu-ch'i shen-t'ung*, prodigy is literally "spirit child" and that is how I shall refer to him hereafter) as the focus around which his story unfolds.⁴ The protagonist, Ch'eng Ling, a once serious artist turned commercial advertiser, suggests the idea of a television program entitled "World of Prodigies" to be directed by his friend Chang Shih-chia with a young woman named Ting Yu-mei as hostess. The "Five Piece Go Prodigy" turns out to be a genuine "Spirit Child" who can actually predict future events and who never loses at "five piece go" or any other such game. The stage is thus set for a series of events in which Ch'eng Ling and all of his business friends — former college classmates —

try to use this Spirit Child for their own selfish, primarily monetary, ends. In the next to the last episode the Spirit Child is kidnapped by Feng Wei-min, a history teacher turned salesman who still retains a passionate desire to know the future fate of mankind. As a result of trying to answer Feng's questions about all future history, the boy loses his mysterious powers. In the final climactic scene the Spirit Child wins two out of three games of Chinese chess against an adult champion, Professor Liu Lo-yi, by relying on his own intelligence and in spite of his deliberate departure from a pre-arranged strategy worked out of the basis of his earlier predictions of Liu's every future move. The Spirit Child's performance has a profound effect on Ch'eng Ling who resolves to continue his serious artistic endeavors in spite of the crass commercialism of society and his own pressing need for economic security. In the denouement the Spirit Child also seems to have undergone a change and to have learned to control his now apparently regained powers in order to protect himself from the adult society and its selfish designs on him.

STYLISTIC SIMILARITIES

Two strikingly pleasurable stylistic similarities of these works are the authors' masterful control of levels of language for individual characterization and their equally fine evocation of place by means of particularly well crafted scenes or episodes. The language of both works is decidedly masculine in tone and is permeated by the diction of traditional Chinese vernacular fiction (Ah-Ch'eng) and martial arts fiction (Chang Hsi-kuo), but there is a greater range of character

types delineated through characteristic speech levels in Ah-ch'eng's short story. Such stylistic features are most difficult to capture in translation, but I shall try to give some idea of the flavor they add to the story. The "Chess Nut" Wang Yi-sheng's second sentence (his first having been, "Wanna play chess? ") is:⁵

Who the hell do I need to see me off? We're going where there's food to eat — all this crying and snivelling . . . Come on, you go first. (16)

Two of Wang Yi-sheng's most important character traits — dignified self reliance and concern for material survival — are revealed in his first complete utterance, and he continues throughout to express himself in such independent and manly tones characteristic of his lower class urban background. As we shall see later, the old waste paper collector employs a diction completely different from Wang's, one that is redolent with the richly suggestive terminology of traditional Chinese philosophy. As a fastidious young gentleman with a highly cultured background and the "very vulgar" nickname "Balls," Ni Pin's inevitable reaction to every event from the first mention of Wang Yi-sheng to Wang's simultaneous defeat of nine chess players is an unruffled and slightly condescending "pretty good, pretty good" (*man-hao, man-hao*).⁶ Finally, the aging scion of a once powerful gentry family who emerges at the end of the story to admit defeat like a true gentleman (a traditional *chun-tzu*), speaks in the cultured cadences of a bygone age of courtesy and respect for talent:

Young man, due to this old one's

infirmities I was unable to personally enter the arena. I ordered others to transmit my moves, an expedient for which there was really no alternative. . . . This old one having played the game to this point and having for the moment delighted in the beauty of it, I wonder if you would be so gracious as to call it a draw and declare a truce, thus allowing this old one to save a little face? (35/130)

Although his characters are not representative of as many different levels of society, Chang Hsi-kuo does have an excellent ear for the colorful speech patterns of young men not too long out of the university who are engaged in various ways in the commercial world. Such language is indeed characteristic of Chang's works as a whole from the short story "Ti" [Earth, 1967] to the novel *Tso-ji chih nu* [Yesterday's Anger, 1978]. Chou P'ei is perhaps the best and certainly the most colorful example in this novel. Here are just a few excerpts of his highly masculine speech studded with four character phrases many of which are drawn from martial arts fiction (underlined, though regretfully unmatched in effect, in my translation). Here he is explaining the background of a stock market deal to Ch'eng Ling:

At that time the market was really hot, a group of stock-holders were speculating secretly, thinking that they could control the market by buying in and selling out at will. But they never imagined that *just as the mantis catches the cicada the sparrow closes in from behind*; somebody else was plotting behind their backs. When they finally realized the situation had turned against them, it was too late to buy back their shares. When the Board Meeting convened, the controlling power was in somebody

else's hands and all they could do was obediently accept their dismissal. There's a name for this strategy; it's called *ambush from all sides to capture a dragon*.

Chou goes on to explain how he and Ch'eng will avoid losing on the market:

At any rate we'll wait till the price has just about peaked and then we'll bail out. We certainly won't get caught *like a turtle out of water* unwilling to let go. To play the stock market requires the ability to *make instant decisions at the opportune moment*; if you're too inflexible you're bound to be shot down. (111-113)

Here he is angry and hurt when Ch'eng Ling refuses to ask the Spirit Child for future stock prices again:

Fuck! You're jerking me around. I've always respected you, Fatty Ch'eng, thought of you as a good friend and never ever concealed anything from you. . . . I've been *fair and square* with you. But I ask you to help out a little today, and you come on like a cheapskate — that's really great! And I turn out to be a damned fool blindman *with no pupils in his eyes!* (113)

Ah-ch'eng evokes the life of educated youth in the materially and spiritually impoverished Chinese countryside through a number of scenes and episodes the likes of which are rarely found in the usual "educated youth fiction" (*chih-ch'ing hsiao-shuo*) of the post-Mao era. The most unusual of these are the snake dinner the narrator prepares and the final chess match. The latter is too long to quote here, but an excerpt from Ah-ch'eng's herpetological cook book may serve to demonstrate his style:

I hung the snakes up and skinned them but did not wash them, then I put them on the table and opened them up with a bamboo knife. Without cutting them open, I coiled them up in a big bowl, placed the bowl in a large pot, and put some water in the pot, . . . [when the snakes were ready to eat] Wang Yi-sheng pushed over to take a look and asked, "How can we eat them whole?" Snake meat must not come in contact with iron, if it does it stinks, so I didn't cut it; you just dip it into the flavorings with chopsticks and eat it. (25-25/108)

With the greater length of the novel form, Chang Hsi-kuo is even more able to give his readers a feeling for the texture of urban life in a rapidly modernizing and commercializing Chinese society. It is there in all of its bewildering complexity, electronic inauthenticity, and irrepressable attraction for modern intellectuals and country girls alike: the commercial network made up of a plethora of small export companies, advertising agencies, stockmarket speculators, and so on; and the mindless and seemingly meaningless leisure activities of television image makers and their artificially manufactured prodigies whose reality doesn't actually matter to a mass audience who will forget about them the next day anyway. One short episode involving a phone call made by Ch'eng Ling while watching a television commercial break impressively demonstrates Chang's evocation of modern life:

Ch'eng Ling closed the door to his bedroom. He heard his younger brother close the door to his bedroom. The radio came on immediately. Ch'eng Ling lied down on the bed, the sound of the radio was especially clear. "Oh what a beautiful Sunday. Oh! Oh! Oh! What a beautiful Sunday." Chia-

chia, An-an, and P'ing-p'ing dedicate this song to Ling-ling, Hsiao-han, and Hsiao-wen. Normal High Class Number Twenty-eight dedicates this song to Taipei Girl's Highschool Class Number Four. "Oh! Oh! Oh! What a beautiful Sunday." The next song, "I'll Never Fall in Love Again," Ling-ling, Hsiao-han, and Hsiao-wen dedicate to Chia-chia, An-an, and P'ing-p'ing. Taipei Girl's Highschool Class Number Four dedicates to Normal High Class Number Twenty-eight. "What do you get when you fall in love? . . . I . . . I'll never fall in love again. . . ."

"I can't stand it!" Ch'eng Ling opened his bedroom door, turned on the living room light, put the television on at the lowest possible volume, and then began to dial a phone number. Just as someone answered the phone, a brightly flashing image appeared on the television screen.

"Is Feng Wei-ming at home?"

"Just a minute please."

Ch'eng Ling was watching an ad for a bust enlargement pill, a bikini clad young woman did a back dive into a swimming pool. Ch'eng Ling could never understand why she did a back dive. Insoluble conundrum number one. Someone coughed into the receiver.

"Feng Wei-ming."

"Lao Feng. It's Ch'eng Ling. You were looking for me?"

"You actually had to call me first Old Buddy, never got to be a big shot, what a shame."

"You were looking for me?"

"I was looking for you, Old Buddy. First of all, didn't you say something yesterday about designing a mail order catalog? I wasn't interested, but a friend heard me mention it today, and he's really interested, would like to ask you to design one for him. Let me warn you first, this dude is pretty stingy; it pains him to part with a nickel. Otherwise he wouldn't be selling by mail. You feel like contacting him directly? I can give you his number."

"Of course, wait a second."

Ch'eng Ling reached for paper and pen. A pair of beautiful women selling chewing gum were smiling at each other. Beauty twins or lesbians?! Insoluble conundrum number two. Ch'eng Ling began to write quickly.

"Five-two-five-four-one-zero. Manager Mao. What sort of connections does this guy have?"

"He doesn't have much himself, probably some fat cat supporting him behind the scenes. You should be able to make a little dough off of him easily enough."

Feng Wei-ming goes on to ask Ch'eng Ling to help make peace between two friends who are having a lover's quarrel. Just before he agrees,

The beautiful women selling chewing gum smiled at each other again and put sticks of gum into each other's mouths. Ch'eng Ling switched off the television. (53-56)

This short episode not only gives us a good idea of Chang Hsi-kuo's evocation of modernized Taipei, with its radios blaring out popular American songs, but it also illustrates the irony of one of the main themes of the novel. Ch'eng Ling, who wants very badly to be a serious artist and who is hardly cut out to be an advertiser, arranges to contact a stingy client at the same time that he is both confused and annoyed by a pair of fatuously meretricious television commercials. In order to survive as a serious artist he may well have to produce that sort of commercial kitsch too.

Two other stylistic similarities that add greatly to the pleasure of these texts are their use of the elements of suspense and mystery. Ah-cheng's story has an almost *ch'uan-ch'i* (romantic

legend) atmosphere with its wise old waste paper collector cum Taoist adept and his "wondrous book" (*yi-shu*) of Taoist chess lore explained by means of arcane sexual metaphors involving the cosmic principles of *yin* and *yang*, and its equally *ch'uan-ch'i* like wondering young protagonist who, in proper Taoist fashion, looks like a fool but is really a genius. Chang Hsi-kuo's Spirit Child is even more mysterious. He has a "spirit glow" (*shen-kuang*) in his eyes reminiscent of Taoist and Buddhist mystics who have attained a very high level of meditation. Not the least of the mysteries surrounding the Spirit Child is the question of whether or not he really has the power to see into and predict the future. Most of the novel's characters believe he does, even the originally skeptical Ch'eng Ling and his scientifically minded brother Ch'eng Li, and so do I. That is I believe that his genuine clairvoyance is an essential part of both the form and the meaning of the novel, his loss of it being an important structural and thematic element of the whole. The possibility of some of his predictions being the result of chance coincidence is never completely ruled out, however, by any sort of authorial intrusion to assure the reader of the genuine nature of his powers. Both stories also build up to a suspense filled climax — a final chess competition — which has important thematic implications. In each case the crowning victory of the "chess masters" precipitates the final and most important change in the protagonists.

THEMATIC SIMILARITIES

Although the stylistic similarities mentioned so far are interesting enough

in their own right considering the differences in the authors' backgrounds and training, the most striking and significant similarities are to be found in the plot structures and major themes of these two works. Both plots are structured in such a way as to effect a complex change in the thinking of their protagonists, Wang Yi-sheng and Ch'eng Ling. Both protagonists achieve a new insight into the meaning of an important aspect of their individual life in relation to their social environment. Those similar insights result not from a change in circumstances or goals but from an important discovery or inner realization — a change in their originally inadequate thinking. Both plots may be classified, then, as "education plots" involving a major complex change in their protagonists.⁷ Furthermore, the main characters in each story, one protagonist and one co-protagonist or incitor, would seem to be near perfect exempla of Norman Friedman's sophisticated and naive inadequacy of conceptions, beliefs, and attitudes. Wang Yi-sheng and the Spirit Child (co-protagonist/incitor) suffer from naive inadequacies of thought or reflection due to their lack of exposure to alternative possibilities in life — poverty and cultural deprivation in Wang's case and extreme youth in the child's case. Ch'eng Ling and the I-narrator (co-protagonist/incitor) begin with a sophisticated and ironic view of life bordering on cynicism due to a series of disillusioning experiences they've been through — forced compromise with commercial values and economic necessity in Ch'eng's case and orphanage and vagabondage due to the Cultural Revolution disaster in the case of the I-narrator.

One major difference in the two plots

is that in the short story it is the naive protagonist's contact with the sophisticated incitor that helps precipitate his change of thought, while in the novel the sophisticated protagonist comes to a new awareness as a result of his reflection on the behavior of a naive incitor. In the end, however, a complex change also takes place in the thought of both the short story's sophisticated incitor and the novel's naive incitor. For this reason I prefer to think of them as co-protagonists. Finally, these complex changes that take place in the thinking of the two main characters of each work are intimately connected to the major themes and meaning of each work as an artistic whole.

It seems to me that each of these works contains at least three thematic patterns, the two most important of which, expressed through the actions of the main characters, are identical. The first of these is an assertion of the primacy of and absolute necessity for spiritual sustenance in a truly human life. While not denying the need for a certain minimum level of material prosperity, both works point to non-material and intangible values as the primary ennobling elements of life. The second is a powerful affirmation of individual human dignity, subjective autonomy, and moral choice. While not ignoring those demands that society may reasonably make on the individual, both works extol the moral autonomy of individual choice in opposition to any form of historical determinism.

Another significant similarity through which both works reflect the complexity of life is that the antagonist opposing the first theme in both works is the overall social milieu rather than any specific evil individual. In Ah-ch'eng's

short story it is the stagnation and material poverty of rural China combined with the spiritually deadening anti-intellectual and anti-cultural philistinism of the regime. In Chang Hsi-kuo's novel it is the rampant materialism of a commercial mass society that threatens to reduce every artistic endeavor to the lowest common denominator of another sort of mindless philistinism. In like manner, the antagonist opposing the second theme is a reigning ideology, another set of ideas, rather than a particular individual or group. In the short story it is state Maoism of the Cultural Revolution era, a vulgar form of Marxism that demanded complete suppression of the individual in conformity to the will of one man as interpreted by the Party he directed. In the novel it is a combination of historicism and scientific pessimism which add up to a concept of historical determinism in which the individual human being's actions are believed to count for nothing in the face of the abstract laws of history and physics. As we shall see, the protagonists of both works reject these modern reductionist ideas in favor of more traditionally Chinese values.

Both writers employ distinctively modern narrative techniques through which these important themes are artfully and dramatically narrated (shown but not told) in each work by means of representational devices such as patterns of balance, repetition, variation, and contrast through which one episode involving several characters throws light on another character or episode involving several other characters and the entire pattern of episodes results in the gradual build up of a theme idea which is validated by the action of the plot.⁸ In contrast to so many works of con-

temporary Chinese fiction, the reader is permitted the pleasure of reconstructing the propositional themes through an analysis of the artistic unity of the works.

The theme of the primary importance of human spiritual needs runs like a thread through the entire structure of Ah-ch'eng's story, and can be seen most fully through an analysis of a number of repeated contrasts and of the complex change in the protagonist Wang Yi-sheng's thought. Wang Yi-sheng and the narrator have contrasting ideas about "eating" and "gluttony" or being "greedy" about one's food. Wang Yi-sheng believes that merely filling one's stomach is "eating" (*ch'ih*), and the narrator's idea that "for human beings, eating is not only a bodily need but also a kind of spiritual necessity" (18) is "gluttony" (*ch'an*) to him. Both Wang Yi-sheng's mother and the old waste paper collector admonish Wang about his addiction to chess: "playing chess can't feed you," and "you don't play chess to earn your living, you play chess to nourish your nature (*hsing*, equivalent to *ching-shen* or spirit); your living (*sheng*, just being alive) can ruin your nature." (21 and 24/98) But Wang cannot help playing chess, he has a spiritual need to play chess and his motto is a revised version of a classical poet's lines, "What can relieve melancholy/There's only chess." And why chess? Because, as Wang tells the narrator on one occasion, "Once I start playing chess, I forget about everything else. As long as I'm playing chess, I feel good." (23/102) In the Cultural Revolution context, there is an unstated but obvious world of pathos behind Wang Yi-sheng's "everything else." Furthermore, having made the admonitory distinction between material needs and spiritual desires, the old waste paper

collector nevertheless proceeds to transmit the traditional Chinese Taoist Way of Chess to Wang Yi-sheng while sitting on a pile of trash, a fitting symbol of Cultural Revolution artistic production. Even Wang's mother, who is terribly afraid that his infatuation with chess will keep him from learning something truly useful in school, painstakingly fashions a chess set from a discarded plastic toothbrush just "to show you your mom understands how much you like to play chess." (25/106) All of these examples and many others point to the undeniable fact that a truly human life requires the satisfaction of spiritual needs over and above the requirements of material existence. This theme is even more fully represented through the changes that take place in the two main characters.

Wang Yi-sheng's family is very poor, his mother "was in a brothel before Liberation," his father deserted them, his stepfather "drinks, has no education [literally *wen-hua*, culture], and no way to make money," and thus his life experiences are very limited. Mathematics is a snap to him in school, but he has not read very much. He believes that cultural activities are unnecessary window dressing. In his own words, "You people! [referring to better educated urban youth like the narrator] You're impossible, all you think about is icing on the cake. I really know how to be satisfied (*chih-tsu*). What else do I want? But you, you've been ruined by books. Those two stories you told me on the train, I thought 'em over and I really like 'em. You're alright and you've read a lot of books. But, in the end, what does it really solve?" (22/102) Wang's original idea is that "people should know how to be satisfied, to

eat your fill at every meal is good fortune." (23/102) That is what he says his philosophy is, but his behavior belies his stated beliefs. He has a "demonic addiction" (*mo-cheng* is his word) to playing chess. Playing chess is his most important spiritual support and a necessary cultural activity — the one thing that makes him "feel good" and forget about "everything else" — but he has no conscious awareness of the fact that his need to play chess contradicts his minimalist philosophy that people should "know how to be satisfied" with having enough food to fill their stomachs every day.

Indeed, once his material needs are actually met, when his sister finds a job in a mine and relieves him of the burden of sending so much money home each month, he takes leave of the farm he's been assigned to and wanders around the countryside for over a month in search of chess opponents. He does this not only because it pleases him but also, as he tells the narrator, because "now we don't have to worry about food and drink; at the most, like you said, it's not good enough and we can't do anything really interesting in life." (23/103) Obviously, once his basic needs are taken care of, Wang Yi-sheng doesn't really "know how to be satisfied." On the contrary, he is so greedy (his word) for spiritual sustenance that he leaves the farm where there is only work and no cultural activities far behind in search of kindred spirits.

Wang Yi-sheng thinks it perfectly natural that he should leave off productive labor in search of chess opponents. He does not employ any sort of philosophical theory to try to rationalize his behavior in terms of his concept of "knowing how to be satisfied."

Indeed, he seems blissfully unaware that his determined search for chess opponents is in direct conflict with his oft stated values. It is not until he goes into a near trance state while playing mental chess with nine opponents simultaneously, that he comes to a kind of sudden enlightenment which validates this particular theme. The narrator's description of him at the height of his triumph is almost that of one who has attained an extremely high level of meditation and passed far beyond the realm of normal mortals:

A single lamp very high overhead dimly illumined his face, his eyes were sunken in deeply and were very dark, as if he were bending down to survey the vast and boundless universe. His life force seemed to be concentrated in that disheveled head of hair; it did not disperse for a long time, then it slowly filled the air around him, burning people's faces. (35/129)

After he awakens from this trancelike state of intense mental concentration, Wang Yi-sheng's thinking has changed. After the crowd watching the chess match disperses, the narrator hands Wang Yi-sheng one of the chess pieces his mother made for him before she died and Wang's reaction tells us that his philosophy of life has changed dramatically:

Wang Yi-sheng stared vacantly at it as if he did not recognize it, but there was a sound in his throat, and suddenly he spat out some thick spittle with an explosive sob, just as the tears rolled down his cheeks, and he half cried and half moaned out these words, "Ma, your son understands life today. People have to have something before they can really live. Ma . . ." (35/131)

It remains for the narrator to sum up Wang Yi-sheng's new understanding in the following words just before he falls asleep, words which also reveal a change in his own thinking about life in the Chinese countryside:⁹

I began to laugh and then thought: If I wasn't a common person, how could I know such joy? With my family dead and gone and my hair cut short, I shoulder a hoe every day; but this is a truly human life. To comprehend this is happiness and good fortune itself. Food and clothing are basic. Ever since mankind existed, they've been busy with them every day. But confined to them only, we would not be much like human beings. (35/131)

In this passage, Ah-ch'eng's allusive diction lends force to his underlying theme, being an artful blend of T'ao Ch'ien's (365-427) pastoral poetry and Buddhist terminology. *Ho-ch'u*, "to shoulder a hoe," echoes many of T'ao's poems and *tzu yu chen jen-sheng tzai li-mien*, "this is a truly human life," echoes the famous line from "Drinking Wine, Number Five," *tz'u chung yu chen yi*, "there is genuine meaning herein." *Shih*, "to comprehend," is one of many Buddhist terms for understanding or enlightenment.¹⁰ Through his association with Wang Yi-sheng and the country people of rural China, the narrator has come to appreciate their lives as "truly human"; but only if they can avoid being "confined" to the struggle for mere bodily existence.

In Chang Hsi-kuo's novel, partly due to the much more complex nature of the society depicted and partly due to the fact that the protagonist is a practicing painter, the theme of the necessity of spiritual sustenance is

expressed through the more familiar situation of a serious artist's struggle against the commercialization and trivialization of his art. For Ah-ch'eng it was necessary to establish the primacy of personal spiritual values in a society offering very limited self-expression of any kind, let alone artistic self-expression. Chang Hsi-kuo's purpose is to dramatize the inner conflict of anyone who aspires to be a genuine artist in a Chinese society already modernized to such an extent that it offers a great many more avenues of self-expression and self-destruction than the inhabitants of rural China might ever dream of. As in the short story, Chang's technique is to narrate a series of episodes that serve both to dramatize the conflict between art and spiritual values on the one hand and money or commercial values on the other and at the same time to deepen the protagonist's inner awareness of his situation and the inadequacy of his original ideas on the subject. The end result is a reversal in the protagonist's thinking which, as much as Wang Yi-sheng's illumination, also has a very satisfying emotional effect on the reader.

Beginning *in medias res* Chang shows us Ch'eng Ling engaging in his commercial advertising business rather uncertainly and with little personal satisfaction. At first we believe that, as he thinks to himself, he has turned to commerce simply because "a painter has to eat too" and that he has rather opportunistically resolved to paint a series of saleable but non-serious pop art works featuring the currencies of various nations. As the novel progresses, however, we realize that he is wracked by internal conflict. On the one hand all he really wants to do in *lifé* is paint and he hopes that he can continue to do so; but on the other

hand, as we learn in an exposition of his background toward the middle of the novel, after having had a couple of one man shows and becoming a rather well known artist, he became increasingly disgusted with himself, could not produce anything artistically satisfying, threw away all of his painting equipment one day, and became a corporation manager overnight by the simple expedient of having a name card printed up. In other words, before the action of the novel begins he made a decision to become an "amateur painter" with a "regular occupation" as a commercial advertiser. Rationalizing his behavior by reasoning that he was only a "second rate" painter anyway, he both embraced the lesser challenge of commercialized art and avoided the greater risk and responsibility of striving to be a serious artist. Painting for Ch'eng Ling, however, like chess for Wang Yi-sheng, is something he cannot live without; and he soon bought a new set of equipment and continues to paint once in a while as the novel proper begins.

Ch'eng Ling's social situation does not change in any way in the course of the novel, but his experience with the Spirit Child, just like Wang Yisheng's relationship with the more educated narrator, leads to a major reversal in his thinking. A reversal that validates this particular theme. Originally in agreement with Professor Liu's assertion that "money is freedom" and wanting so badly to be able to paint without worrying about money, Ch'eng Ling cannot help taking advantage of the Spirit Child's stock market predictions. When he believes that he has made enough money to run his three man company for a few years, however, he refuses to ask the Spirit Child for any more

help; but he makes a serious error in judgement when he tells his friends and associates about the child's clairvoyance. When all of his friends plan together to use the Spirit Child as a money maker and one even kidnaps him to satisfy his personal desire to know the future, Ch'eng Ling comes to feel very cold and lonely in his spiritual isolation. Emotionally drained by everything that has happened, he seems to have already reached an unconscious decision which is hinted at in a brief passage from the *Ju-lin wai-shih* [The Scholars] advocating traditional style eremitism that he spontaneously recites after hearing how Feng Wei-min tried to learn the future from the Spirit Child.¹¹ His decision becomes conscious the following day when he resolves to do the best he can to produce serious works of art with his own talents however meagre they may be.

The first painting he attempts is of the Spirit Child; and, although he is not completely satisfied with it, the child's chess victory without the aid of clairvoyance reinforces his final resolve to continue his career as a serious artist. His last conversation with the Spirit Child contains the following passage:

"I don't have to predict the future. I can play on my own. I like to play chess. You want to play chess with me?"

Ch'eng Ling's mind relaxed. He thought of his own painting. He could still paint. He hadn't really given up. He said to himself, you don't need to worry about the Spirit Child. Everything is going to be all right. All you have to do is try your best. You don't need to worry about anyone. Everything is going to be all right. (197)

In Ah-ch'eng's short story human dignity and individual moral autonomy are dramatized through the actions of the protagonist Wang Yi-sheng. Although springing from an impoverished urban background, Wang Yi-sheng never looks down on himself or envies others with more fortunate cultural backgrounds. If anything he feels somewhat superior to them because he is better able to endure hardship than they are, and he believes that the urban upper class educated youths make extravagant demands on life. As he says, "... that's just greed. Greed is you people's special characteristic." Although he himself says that Ni Pin is a "good guy," nevertheless Ni Pin is a perfect example of what Wang means by "you people"; and the contrast between his and Ni Pin's behavior brings out the theme of dignity and moral autonomy.

Like so many educated youth from highly cultured backgrounds, Ni Pin will do almost anything, including bribing a provincial Cultural Secretary, in order to obtain a transfer back to the city. When he offers to give this culturally knowledgeable Secretary a valuable ebony chess set from the Ming dynasty in order to allow Wang Yi-sheng to play in the chess finals and to arrange his own transfer out of the countryside, Wang Yi-sheng's reaction demonstrates a sense of dignity and autonomy that is rooted in highly venerated traditional Chinese values.

Wang Yi-sheng refuses to accept the Cultural Secretary's arrangement with Ni Pin for two reasons. The first is his highly developed sense of filial piety. As he expresses it, "That's his father's chess set! It doesn't matter how good or bad it is, it's a keepsake. That chess

set with no writing on it that my mother gave me, I've always hung on to it like it was my life; and I can't forget my mom's words now that I'm living well." (31/122) The second is a sense of dignity and moral autonomy which his own words also make perfectly clear: "Anyway I'm not going to compete, being traded away in somebody else's deal, but looking like I'm taking unfair advantage. If I win or if I lose, it's my own personal business, but playing that way would be like having somebody stabbing me in the backbone." (31/122)

As in the famous lines from Su Shih (1037-1101), Wang Yi-sheng believes that, "everything between Heaven and Earth has its master. If it is not for me, then even if it is as small as a hair I shall not reach for it." He is adamantly unwilling to give up his principles of personal dignity and freedom of choice for the sake of achieving an immediate but limited goal. In the words of Confucius, Wang Yi-sheng knows that "riches and nobility are what human beings desire," but "if they are to be gained by immoral means," then he simply "will not participate therein."¹²

In Chang Hsi-kuo's novel this identical theme is dramatized by the behavior of the Spirit Child, and that behavior also serves as a living answer to a philosophical debate between Ch'eng Ling, who argues for individual autonomy and the significance of individual action, and his brother Ch'eng Li and friend Feng Wei-min, who argue in favor of the ultimate meaninglessness of individual actions and historical determinism respectively. Here we encounter one of the major differences between the short story and the novel, the greater philosophical complexity of the latter

being at once a result of the authors' differing educations, a similar educational difference in the characters depicted, and the greater length of the novel form. Despite all of these differences, the nearly identical conclusions reached regarding individual human worth are quite remarkable. It might even be suggested that their ideas are representative of the world view of the majority of modern and contemporary Chinese intellectuals and that such a world view is perhaps one of the main reasons for the absence of western style literary modernism in China, but this is a topic I'll return to in my concluding section.

Aside from the fact that he can see into the future, the Spirit Child is a character very similar to Wang Yi-sheng. He has the same single minded interest in his chosen game — a simple form of *go* — to the exclusion of "everything else" in his environment, and for the same reason. As he tells Ch'eng Ling and his brother, "I like to play five piece *go*, . . ." and again later, "But I only like to play five piece *go*." (93) He even looks a little like Wang Yi-sheng, being extremely skinny as if slightly undernourished, but he is about ten years younger and has a somewhat overly large head. He also has that mysterious "spirit glow" in his eyes, a trait that Wang exhibits only at the moment of his final chess victory. His response to the greatest challenge in his young life — playing Chinese chess with Professor Liu after losing his mysterious clairvoyance — is the same as Wang Yi-sheng's and is illustrative of the same theme.

Before he lost his clairvoyance, he had predicted Professor Liu's every move in three forthcoming games of chess. On the basis of these predictions,

Ch'eng Li had mapped out for him an unbeatable strategy for each game by consulting a number of chess manuals. Thus the outcome of each game was a foregone conclusion as long as the Spirit Child did not exercise his own autonomous judgement. He was to be even more of a pawn in the hands of Ch'eng Li than Wang Yi-sheng would have been for the Cultural Secretary. Having predicted the future correctly, he was supposed to be powerless to change it. He was supposed to be a prisoner of the historical determinism of Feng Wei-min and the universal entropy of Ch'eng Li's thermodynamics textbooks. In the first game, in fact, he played by his predictions and won easily. In the second game, however, he deliberately lead off with a different gambit than the one he was told to use and continued to move as he wished on the basis of his own individual volition. Professor Liu moved as predicted for a while, but eventually had to abandon his game plan in the face of the child's unusual moves. In the end, relying on his superior experience Professor Liu won the second game. In the third game, the Spirit Child once more completely ignored his previous instructions, both he and Professor Liu played by their wits in response to completely unpredictable moves, the game went down to the wire, and, with great emotional satisfaction to the reader, the Spirit Child triumphed.

The significant point is not that the Spirit Child won and was declared a "chess master," but that his consciously autonomous individual actions changed the course of history, a future history believed to be already determined. Having several times rejected both Cheng Li's argument that the philosophical interpretation of the physical concept

of entropy is that individual human behavior is without genuine consequence or meaning and Feng Wei-min's historicist assertion that human life is determined by the laws of history, like the narrator in Ah-ch'eng's short story, Ch'eng Ling has the honor of summing up the true significance of the Spirit Child's actions. After the second game, "Ch'eng Ling said that it would probably be of no use to follow the chess manual now. Once the Spirit Child broke out of his own prediction, no one could possibly know if the remaining predictions would hold true." (187) And as the final game began, "Ch'eng Ling could not help admiring the Spirit Child's courage. He understood full well that the Spirit Child was now facing a tremendous trial. The Spirit Child did not want to rely on his predictions of the future, he wanted to play this game of chess on his own." (188)

Just as the works of eminent philosophers like Karl Popper and Michael Polanyi have so rigorously demonstrated, the Spirit Child's actions also validate two propositions. As Popper writes,¹³ "There can be no scientific theory of historical development serving as a basis for historical prediction . . . [and thus] historicism collapses." And as Ch'eng Ling puts the second,¹⁴ "... you neglected human subjectivity. The Spirit Child cannot completely predict the future. He has to have a complete grasp of all of the various elements that bring about change in a situation. . . . If his own behavior is one of the elements leading to change, then naturally he must decide on his own actions before he can predict the results of change." (92)

THEMATIC DIFFERENCES

The third major theme of Ah-ch'eng's

short story is related to the first theme discussed above and is basically absent from Chang Hsi-kuo's novel. It is an affirmation of the necessity of transmitting many of the moral, intellectual, and spiritual values of traditional Chinese culture to the younger generation of today, especially to those young people of working class origin who have been traditionally denied access to genuine spiritual culture. In the terminology of Mao Tse-tung's *Yenan Talks*, it is a call for uplifting rather than popularization. Such a theme does not occur in Chang Hsi-kuo's novel primarily because it was not an issue in Taiwan society in the early 1970s in the same way that it was in the PRC in the early 1980s. Despite its politically motivated prohibition of most of the major modern writers of the May Fourth Era, the high culture of traditional China, as represented in literature, art, philosophy, and religion, had never been repudiated by the government on Taiwan. To be sure as the society has become increasingly modernized and industrialized, technology has endangered the humanities just as it has in every other modern industrial society; but the great works of China's spiritual culture have always been taught in the public schools and readily available to anyone who wished to study them seriously.¹⁵

In Ah-ch'eng's story, the "Way of Chess" (*ch'i-tao*) functions as a symbol of the spiritual heritage of traditional China that is passed down to Wang Yi-sheng, a representative of millions of urban youth who were denied the civilizing influences of spiritual culture due to the disruption of the Cultural Revolution decade.¹⁶ There are two important passages in the story, one speech each by the aged waste paper

collector and the old chess champion, two archetypal old wise men, that clearly point to the symbolic nature of the "Way of Chess." The old waste paper collector uses the language of Lao-tzu's *Tao-te ching* [The Way and Its Power] and the most fundamental Chinese philosophical concepts of the *yin* and *yang* to explain the "Way of Chess":

The vital energy of Yin and Yang flow apart and combine together, at first it must not be too strong, what is too strong will break in two, ... what is too weak will leak away. [the image here, as in his "wondrous book," is that of sexual relations]. ... If an opponent is strong, then use softness to transform him, but at the same time that you transform him, you must create a winning strategy. Softness is not weakness, it is containment, gathering in, and holding in. ... One must do nothing and leave nothing undone. Non-action (*wu-wei*) is the Way (*tao*), and it is also the unchangeable movement of chess. ... The movement of chess is ineluctable, but you yourself must create a strategy for each game. Once you have mastered both the overall movement of chess and an individual strategy, then there is nothing that cannot be accomplished. It is truly mysterious (*hsuan*) alright, but once you ponder it carefully it is just such a principle (*li*). (20-21/97)

The aged chess champion describes Wang Yi-sheng's unbeatable "Way of Chess" in the following traditionally syncretic terms:

You are so young and yet you command such a Way of Chess. As I see it you blend Taoism and Buddhism (*tao ch'an*) in the same crucible, seizing opportunities with wondrous foresight and amazing planning, initiating action with a fullblown strategy or cutting off

an opponent with deft countermoves; dispatching dragons to rule the waters, your vital essence (*ch'i*) embraces the Yin and Yang; the scholars (*ju*) and generals of yesterday and today could do no more than that. (35/130)

In these two passages, Wang Yi-sheng's "Way of Chess" is presented as embracing the Three Teachings of Chinese philosophy — Taoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism (*tao, ch'an, ju*) — as well as the fundamental concepts of Chinese cosmology — vital essence and principle (*ch'i, li*) — and thus to be a comprehensive symbol of the priceless spiritual heritage of traditional China.

The third theme of Chang Hsi-kuo's novel is also suggested by means of the symbolism of playing chess and, by extension, any other game of life. It is also absent from Ah-ch'eng's short story. It is an implied affirmation of pluralism and spontaneous association in which many different types of individuals and groups — artists, entrepreneurs, teachers, entertainers, bureaucrats, and workers — are free to play many different sorts of autonomously chosen games of life and are not required to believe in or practice any single ideology. A story illustrating such a theme would be unprintable in the People's Republic at this time and the author of such a story might well be accused of "bourgeois liberalism." I have no reason whatsoever to suppose that Ah-ch'eng harbors any such sentiments, but Chang Hsi-kuo's objective and generous depiction of a disparate group of individual characters each one having a different attitude toward playing chess or other games points to just such an affirmation of pluralism and spontaneous association.

Each of the main characters has

either a different attitude toward the game of chess or an altogether different life game to which he is single mindedly devoted. To the Spirit Child both five piece *go* and Chinese chess are activities carried on for their intrinsic value — the pleasure they provide him. For him chess is an art that is an end in itself. To Ch'eng Ling the game begins as a way for him to vicariously deflate Professor Liu's ego, but it ends up as a symbol for his own art which he knows he is engaged in primarily for its intrinsic spiritual value. To Ch'eng Li the game becomes a surprising refutation of his scientific pessimism. Chou P'ei, Chang Shih-chia, and Kao Yueh-pai have no interest in chess, but each of them has his own dominant game. Chou P'ei loves the excitement of stock market speculation and the thrill of making money by taking a calculated risk; Chang Shih-chia wants only to rise in the television industry hierarchy, using Ch'eng Ling's ideas, the Spirit Child's abilities, or Ting Yu-mei's pretty face, it's all the same to him; and Kao Yueh-pai is dedicated body and soul to playing the role of an *avant-garde* artist. The character with the most complex attitude toward both chess and all other games of life, however, is Professor Liu. His characterization best illustrates the theme of pluralism and spontaneous association in a Chinese context.

Liu Lo-yi is a self-made man, a college science professor, an entrepreneur who owns and manages several export factories, a woman chaser of sorts, and something of a braggart. He is also a gracious loser and a man who decided very early on what he wanted from life — the freedom that money brings with it — and is well on his way to achieving his every goal. He is justly

proud of his ability to use people by the "indirect method" of taking advantage of their basic desires and maneuvering them into voluntarily and gladly doing just exactly what he wants them to do for him. His attitude toward business, chess, or art is exactly the same — they are all games and they ought to be played as such. He plays chess because he enjoys the pleasure of a "battle of wits," but he enjoys business more because it offers him greater excitement.

The moral he draws from his story about the lonely old Phoenix, Arizona millionaire, reveals the essence of his own philosophy as well as summing up this theme of the novel. The lesson he learned from the old man was that one succeeds in this modern world by "making it on the basis of your own chutzpah" (*hun te shou-fa*). (182) Seeing how the old man lived, he resolved to play the game of business in order to "make money to buy freedom, not to buy loneliness." (184) Thus, as he tells Ch'eng Li after his defeat by the Spirit Child, "as the old man said, it's all a matter of getting by on your own chutzpah (*hun*) anyway; it all depends on whether you want to play it big (*ta-hun*) or play it small (*hsiao-hun*). . . . I want to play it small. . . . It's nothing more than a game; why take it so seriously?" (191) Although perhaps stated in an extreme form by Professor Liu, his acceptance of life as an autonomously chosen game is representative of the overall effect of Chang Hsi-kuo's novel. A modern society is seen to be one in which individuals compete or not on the basis of spontaneous associations and autonomous choices.

CONCLUSIONS

The persistence of the fundamental moral values implicit, but in no sense obtrusive, in these two works and their authors' commitment both to the craft of fiction and to the development of Chinese culture seem to me to warrant the appellation modern but not modernistic. While Taiwan fiction has already gone through a "modernist" phase followed by a "nativist" reaction only to settle for the moment into a mature literary pluralism,¹⁷ the 1980s has witnessed a great debate concerning the subject of literary "modernism" and its problematic relevance to PRC literature. In general the writers, especially those under forty or much younger, have been in favor or experimenting with various "modernist" techniques while the official literary bureaucracy has consistently warned against the putative evils of this "bourgeois [sic] capitalist" phenomena.¹⁸ Understandably, after so many years of cultural isolation, there is much obvious confusion about the nature of western modernism, whether viewed as a potential ally or threat, and few of the polemical discussions are particularly edifying. Two writers, however, Yang Lien (a PRC writer of *meng-lung-shih*, obscure or misty poetry) and Yang Mu (nom de plume of C.H. Wang, a Taiwanese poet and professor of Chinese and Comparative Literature at the University of Washington in Seattle), called from opposite sides of the Taiwan Straits for precisely the kind of modern Chinese writing exemplified in these two works by Ah-ch'eng and Chang Hsi-kuo.

Believing that "no individual artist in his creative work can betray his

tradition," in his 1983 essay on "Tradition and Us," Yang Lien calls for a genuine appropriation of the Chinese literary tradition that goes beyond both May Fourth iconoclasm and contemporary pseudo-modernist anti-traditionalism: "we must rediscover, explore and secure once again those things in our history that answer our own aspirations."¹⁹ Such a critical appropriation of the tradition, he believes, will lead to a necessary broadening of the writer's experience and vision such that he can become "the simultaneous embodiment of individuality and of the entire tradition."²⁰ In his essay on "The Traditional Orientation of China's New Poetry," Yang Mu asserts that the history of Chinese poetry involves the repeated rise of "new poets" in every age whose works exemplify the principle that the "transmission of the past is meaningful only by virtue of [the poet's] determination to explore new frontiers."²¹ He describes the new poets of Taiwan as having achieved their own artistic identity by virtue of repeated "experimentation, imitating and transmuting the various poetic forms" in light of "their extensive reading in both Chinese and Western literature [and] their understanding of literary history."²² Like the ideal writers and poets evoked in these two theoretical discussions, Ah-ch'eng and Chang Hsi-kuo have quite obviously benefitted from their reading in the Chinese literary tradition, have successfully appropriated that tradition, and have extended the tradition through a creative transformation of traditional language resulting in artistically powerful narrative styles and entertaining and enjoyable fictions redolent with genuine significance and universal appeal.

It seems to me that both the thematic

similarities *and* differences in these works by two very talented and highly articulate young men from opposite sides of the Taiwan Straits demonstrate the persistence of certain fundamentally humanistic values of the modern Chinese intellectual tradition in the face of both Maoist anti-intellectualism and Western materialism. The two primary themes shared by both works — the primacy of spiritual needs and the moral autonomy of the individual — have their roots both in traditional Confucian Chinese humanism and in the humanitarian individualism of May Fourth engage writers. They also represent the continued triumph of the civilizing values of Chinese culture over the reductionism of both poverty and politics in the People's Republic and money and commerce in Taiwan. Ah-ch'eng's third theme represents both a much needed reaffirmation of the spiritual values of the "old society" and a call for a serious re-evaluation of Chinese tradition such as that advocated by Yang Lien and Yang Mu above. Chang Hsi-kuo's final theme, however, may point towards a possible development of Chinese literature as whole. Just as Mencius asserts that "only the noble men can maintain a stable mind without a stable livelihood,"²³ so too one possible implication of Chang Hsi-kuo's work may be that a genuine liberalism in Chinese cultural life can only reasonably be expected to flourish under conditions of increasing national wealth. Professor Liu Lo-yi's dictum that money equals freedom may indeed have a profound relevance for the future development of Chinese culture. Indeed, the improved literary milieu in the People's Republic since Chairman Mao's death owes much to the new economic policies of Teng

Hsiao-p'ing and his followers. If this situation continues, one may well expect to read more artistically excellent and intellectually significant works such as these "chess masters."

NOTES

- ¹ My translations are from Ah-ch'eng 1984 and Chang 1978. Page numbers are given in the text. Chang 1986 is a complete translation of the novel.
- ² For an overview of Chang Hsi-kuo's work, see Faurot 1980: 148-165.
- ³ See Ah-ch'eng 1985a, 1985b, and 1985c. For an introduction to Ah-ch'eng, see Duke 1985, and for an interview with Ah-ch'eng in Hong Kong, see Li Yi 1986.
- ⁴ The Chinese character *ch'i* may be translated both as *go*, its Japanese reading, and chess. *Wu-tzu-ch'i* is a very simplified form of *go* rather like tic tac toe in which the first one to line up five of his *go* stones in a straight line wins. *Hsiang-ch'i*, "elephant *ch'i*," is Chinese chess, a complex game comparable to European chess, involving *chu*, *ma*, *p'ao*, and *tsu* (chariot, horse, catapult, and pawns).
- ⁵ See Jenner 1985 for an English translation of "Ch'i wang." Although faithfully reflecting the bulk of the story, it is in some ways an unreliable translation because it both confuses these very important linguistic levels and alternates very good, not so good, and, in a few places, completely mistaken passages. I have made my own translation in every case, but have nevertheless benefitted from an examination of his translation and found some similar wordings to be unavoidable. It is, as usual, the very Chinese flavor of Ah-ch'eng's diction that is most difficult to reproduce in translation.
- ⁶ Ni Pin's *man-hao* is intended to express condescension and should not be translated "terrific" as Jenner does. Ah-ch'eng told *chiu-shih nien-tai* that this is a Shanghai expression, see Li Yi 1986: 70.
- ⁷ Friedman 1975: 89, 179-80, has this to say about the education plot: "The most common type [of plots of thought], however, involves a change in thought for the better in terms of the protagonist's conceptions, beliefs, and attitudes. It resembles the maturing plot in that his thought at the outset is somehow inadequate and is then improved, but it does not continue on to demonstrate or confirm the effects of this beneficial change on his behavior." And this about a complex change: "A complex change involves bringing the protagonist from one state to its opposite by means of a reversal. What is required for clarity and belief, therefore, is (1) a precipitating cause to bring him into his first state, (2) a counterplot action to represent the consequences of that state, (3) an inciting cause which will serve to bring him out of the counterplot and on toward the opposite state, (4) a progressive action to represent him in the process of change, and (5) a culmination where the process is completed."

In our short story/novel these five elements may be listed thus: (1) poverty and cultural deprivation/compromise with commercial society (values), (2) proud denigration of cultural activities/cynicism about the possibility of genuine cultural activities (art), (3) meeting with I-narrator/meeting with Spirit Child, (4) most of the action of both plots, (5) Wang Yisheng's chess victory and its accompanying vision or illumination/Cheng Ling's final insight brought on by witnessing the Spirit Child's chess victory.

⁸ *Ibid.*: 132, 391, note 6.

⁹ Jenner's mis-rendering of all but the last of these very important lines is quite surprising to me:

"I smiled and thought that only by being one of the common people would one enjoy such pleasures. My family had been destroyed, I had lost my privileged status and was now having to do manual work every day, but here there was a remarkable man who I was very lucky indeed to know. Food and clothing were the basic things, and ever since the human race had existed they have been kept busy every day for them. But it was not really human to be limited to them." Perhaps this is just another example of the paraphrastic translation so common in the pages of *Chinese Literature*, but there is nothing in the original text about "losing my privileged status" or "a remarkable man" that the narrator was "lucky to know."

¹⁰ T'ao Ch'ien, in Birch, 1965: 184.

¹¹ Chang 1978: 161-162.

¹² Su Shih, in Birch, 1965: 381-82. *Lun-yu*, "Li-jen p'ien," 5.

¹³ Popper 1964: vii; pages vi-viii summarize his argument.

¹⁴ Compare the old waste paper collector's answer to Wang Yi-sheng concerning the relationship between chess and human life (history) in Ah-ch'eng 1984: 21. He concludes that human life (history) has too many unknown variables to be restricted to any one set of rules. The logic of his argument, like Popper's, dooms Marxism-Leninism or any other historicism to ultimate failure.

¹⁵ As Perry Link pointed out as a discussant of my paper at the WCAAS Meetings in Long Beach in October 1985, it is quite ironic that the popular culture of "reactionary" (in Chinese Marxist terms) Taiwan has undergone a revolutionary change during its modernization, a change that involves a great deal of "cultural convergence" with the industrialized nations of the world, while the "revolutionary" People's Republic has remained more traditionally Chinese in nearly every department of life. In this paper, however, I am concerned with the values reflected in the fictional works of two well educated and highly articulate young men from opposite sides of the Taiwan Straits, and I believe that these strikingly similar values are representative of traditional Chinese intellectual attitudes.

¹⁶ It is precisely these urban youth who make up the bulk of the readers of PRC literature since the death of Mao Tse-tung.

¹⁷ For the development of Taiwan fiction, see Faurot 1980.

¹⁸ See first issue of *Modern Chinese Literature* 1984: 7-77 and Soong and Minford 1984: 41-80, especially Geremie Barme's introduction to his translation of a September 1983 survey article from the *People's Daily*.

¹⁹ Soong and Minford 1984: 69, 71.

²⁰ *Ibid.*: 72.

²¹ *Ibid.*: 74.

²² *Ibid.*: 79-80.

²³ Lau 1970: 58, as modified and discussed in Schwartz 1985: 105-08.

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GLOSSARY TO DUKE,
"TWO CHESS MASTERS"

Chang Hsi-kuo 張系國
 Chung Ah-ch'eng 鍾阿城
 Ch'i wang 棋王
 Chiang Ch'ing 江青
 chung-p'ien hsiao-shuo 中篇小說
 pa-wang 八王
 ch'i tai-tzu 棋呆子
 Wang Yi-sheng 王一生
 yi-jen 異人
 Ni Pin 倪斌
 wu-tzu-ch'i 五子棋
 shen-t'ung 神童
 Ch'eng Ling 程凌
 Chang Shih-chia 張士嘉
 Ting Yu-mei 丁玉梅
 Feng Wei-min 馮爲民
 Liu Lo-yi 劉樂貽
 man-hao, man-hao 蠻好，蠻好
 chün-tzu 君子
 "Ti" 地
 Tso-ji chih nu 昨日之怒
 Chou P'ei 周培
 chih-ch'ing hsiao-shuo 知青小說
 ch'uan-ch'i 傳奇
 yi-shu 異書
 yin and yang 陰陽
 shen-kuang 神光
 Ch'eng Li 程涑
 ch'ih 吃
 ch'an, "gluttony" 饒
 hsing 性

ching-shen 精神
 sheng 生
 wen-hua 文化
 chih-tsu 知足
 mo-cheng 魔症
 T'ao Ch'ien 陶潛
 ho-ch'u 荷鋤
 tzu yu chen jen-sheng tsai li-mien 自有真人生在裏面
 tz'u chung yu chen yi 此中有真意
 shih 識
 Ju-lin wai-shih 儒林外史
 Su Shih 蘇軾
 Mao Tse-tung 毛澤東
 ch'i-tao 棋道
 Lao tzu 老子
 Tao te ching 道德經
 wu-wei 無爲
 tao 道
 hsüan 玄
 li 理
 ch'an, "Zen Buddhism" 禪
 ch'i 氣
 ju 儒
 Kao Yueh-pai 高悅白
 hun te shou-fa 混的手法
 ta-hun 大混
 hsiao-hun 小混
 Yang Lien 楊煉
 Yang Mu 楊牧
 meng-lung-shih 朦朧詩
 Teng Hsiao-p'ing 鄧小平

Problems Encountered in Translating a Play

Huang I-min
(黃逸民)

All the problems brought up for discussion in this paper will be limited to those which I encountered when translating Prof. Hwang Mei-shu's 黃美序 *The Comedy of Yang Shih-jen*¹ 楊世人的喜劇, an adaptation of *Everyman*. Unlike *Everyman*, the medieval didactic morality play, Hwang's *Comedy*, however, is basically a satirical comedy with a setting in contemporary Taiwan. Therefore, one of the most difficult problems I came across in translating this play is that of translating the puns or word-plays, which contribute to the comic and sarcastic atmosphere in the play, but which, on the other hand, seem to pose an unsurmountable problem for the translator. Hwang, a scholar of drama as well as a creative playwright, wrote his *Comedy* in the tradition of Yuan *tza-chü* 雜劇. So besides the puns, another prominent characteristic of this play, common to the *tza-chü*, is the abundance of allusions. These two problems constitute the most difficult barriers to cross. I try to deal with them especially for the purpose of presenting my translated play to a listening audience rather than to be read as a closet play. The discussion of these two problems — puns and

allusions — to some extent, relates to discussion about classical Chinese plays. And the aim of this paper is to review all the translation theories for translating a play which have been considered by translators and scholars and to examine their applicability to the practical problems encountered in this play with the intention of exploring more possibilities for translating a play.

I. ALLUSIONS

According to James Liu, there are two kinds of allusions: general and specific. The former are used to allude to things of common knowledge while the latter are employed to refer to particular literary works, historical events and persons, legends, and myths.² The purpose of an allusion, as pointed out by Hwang, is to present an analogical situation or provide a contrast. In this way, the authority of past experience is imposed on the present event to strengthen a desired effect economically.³ Sometimes, an allusion is used simply to show off the author's learning. Allusions are a rather common problem in translation, especially for a literary work, be it a novel, an essay, a poem,

or a play. But I think translating a play is somewhat different from translating the other genres as far as allusions are concerned, because a play is translated primarily to be acted out on a stage not just to be read and studied as literature. With this purpose in mind, the suggestion put up by Liang Shih-ch'iu 梁實秋 to footnote the translation⁴ is of course too easy of a solution. It is too simplistic mainly because a reader can take time to read the footnotes or annotations in a short story, novel or a poem carefully several times if necessary, but the audience going to a theater has no access to footnotes. They are there to see the performance and hear the lines spoken only one time. They cannot go back to read the footnotes like readers of a novel. This difference should be taken into consideration when the translator is pondering over alternatives for his translation of a play. When I was translating Hwang's *Comedy*, I tackled it with the goal of having it performed on stage. So, I tried to use conversational English to translate this play. Of course, whether the desired effect is achieved or not is another problem. But it should be borne in mind that the discussion of this paper is mainly based on this premise. I believe that in translation of allusions, besides supplying annotations or footnotes, which is the safest way especially for classical Chinese drama, there are four alternative strategies to be considered:

(A) Try to find an equivalent or counterpart allusion in the target language to substitute for that in the source language. For example, using Romeo and Juliet to refer to passionate lovers appearing in original Chinese plays; Achilles and Patroclus for faithful friends; Penelope for a faithful wife;

Iago for a shrewd schemer; Othello for a jealous husband, etc. Of course, such a bold strategy is a very risky venture. On the one hand, it is difficult to find such equivalents or substitutes. On the other hand, using this innovation, a translator stands a good chance of being accused of unfaithful translation, which is a cardinal sin for a translator. Because even for a general allusion referring to common experience, there are cultural differences between a Westerner and a Chinese. For instance, a Westerner does not see a rose exactly the same way as a Chinese does. Therefore, when using a rose to describe a beautiful woman, there will be discrepancy in connotations. It is more true of a specific allusion which is usually a creation in a particular cultural, historical, or social background. It is almost impossible to find two exact equivalents for a specific allusion in two different cultures. So, this strategy has almost never been used for translating classical Chinese drama, in which a faithful translation is regarded as the first principle. A serious discrepancy in connotation caused by a careless substitute will inevitably result in a misinterpretation, distortion of the original, giving the audience or readers an absurd or ridiculous feeling. However, such a feeling, I think, may be needed for a farce, burlesque, or a comic scene. Therefore, this method can be considered when translating such plays to emphasize a ridiculous or grotesque atmosphere. Besides, the audience going to a burlesque expects to have a good laugh. They generally are not concerned about the exact origin or background of the allusion. A well chosen substitute may achieve a result where a dull and faithful footnote fails. So, besides being close

to the original, the equivalent must be very popular and familiar to the audience. And any special effects must be considered in making use of the equivalent. I admit that a translator must be very careful to employ this strategy.

(B) Write footnotes into the translation. This strategy can be very helpful for a stage translator to solve the problems of translating special names, allusions, or puns. By adding a brief explanation to the original allusion, the translator may hope that the audience will make a mental association with an equivalent allusion in the target culture or that it can be self-explanatory.⁵ It can also help the audience understand a difficult allusion without having to look at the footnotes. Sometimes, it can save the dilemma in which a specific but very important allusion is lost to the audience simply because it can not look at the footnotes. This method called the writing-into-the-translation by Hwang has been mentioned in several of his articles on translation.⁶ Here, I would like to present an example from Hwang's play to illustrate this method. In Act I, as *Everyman* in the medieval play, Yang Shih-jen, after learning that he will in three days time be summoned by ghosts to hell to be tried, is anxious to find his best friends to ask for their company on the journey. At the beginning, all his friends boast of their loyalty to him and of their willingness to help him. But after they find out the truth, they are eager to leave him as soon as possible. Here, Hwang uses allusions to ancient types of true friendship and loyalty to satirize and ridicule the friendship boasted by Yang's friends. When Yang comes to see his friends and ask for help at the beginning of this act, they answer:

劉百備：（站起）沒有問題，咱們雖然不是當年的劉、關、張桃園三結義，我劉百備可是劉備的後代，道道地地的漢室後代。（坐下）

蘇 斌：不才蘇斌雖然文才差了一點點，當年沒有考上大學甲組，但是講忠、講義，可不輸給我們的老祖宗蘇武。至於咱們的小妹一賽昭君的外貌可不是只爲了她長得國色天香、有落雁之容……

My translation is:

Liu: (stands up) No problem. Although we are not sworn brothers like the famous pact of loyalty vowed by Liu, Kuan, Chang, I am a true descendant of Liu, and I am a hundred times more loyal than my ancestor. (sits down)

Su: Although I am not a scholar and I failed in the College Joint Entrance Exams for science and engineering, I am not inferior to our great ancestor Su Wu when it comes to loyalty and integrity. As for our little sister, the name of Sai Chao-chun means more than that she is the loveliest of the lovely, the fragrance of heaven, with a face that stops geese in flight. . . .

The underlined parts are the added notes or explanations. In this dialogue, the most important allusion is to *Tao-yan san chieh-i* 桃園三結義, meaning a trio pact vowed by Liu Pei 劉備, Kuan Yun-chang 關雲長, and Chang Fei 張飛 in a peach orchard.⁷ Popular and familiar to the Chinese, this famous pact has long been considered a symbol of real friendship and brotherhood in China. Therefore, it is obvious that Hwang uses the friendship among Yang's friends in this play as a poignant parody of this pact. If the original is rendered literally as "Although we have not vowed

a pact like the ancient trio Liu, Kuan and Chang" with footnotes or annotations provided, the audience listening to this line will not understand clearly unless they go to look at the footnotes. Then, when preformed, this important allusion will be lost to the audience. Therefore, I write the explanations "sworn brothers," and "loyalty" to make the allusion self-explanatory to the listening audience. It is to be noticed here that "loyalty," a key word in this dialogue, is added to further accentuate the contrast with the later development when Yang's friends show that they are only fair-weather friends. Their boast of loyalty reveals satirically their lack of it. So, writing "sworn brothers," and "loyalty" into my translation will not only make the allusion clear to the audience when they hear it but also emphasize the satirical effect of this allusion. The place Tao Yuan 桃園 (a peach orchard) referred to by the allusion is, however, completely deleted in my translation because it is not essential to the understanding of this illusion and the audience need not pay any attention to it.

As for the special names in this allusion, I just give their surnames to make it as simple as possible for the benefit of the audience as in the Chinese original. Although the full name Liu Bei is given in the next sentence in the original, I keep it simply as Liu to maintain consistency. Besides, the audience will not have time to care about who they really are. However, it is interesting to note that Hwang names Yang's three friends deliberately to parody traditional Chinese heroes or heroines of faith and loyalty. For example, in the name Liu Pai-pei 劉百備, Hwang plays on 備 (bei) which is

homonymous with 倍 (pei, meaning "times"). The pun on 百備 / 百倍 (meaning "a hundred times") can bring about a comic effect to a careful Chinese audience because it means that Liu Pai-pei is a hundred times more loyal than Liu Pei, his ancestor who is a man of true loyalty. The trick is so subtle that if it is not pointed out, many in a Chinese audience will not grasp the pun, let alone an English-speaking one. Therefore, I deem it necessary to write the pun into my translation to illustrate the fun and the sarcastic effect.

You may notice that I leave out the sentence 道道地地的漢室後代, meaning that I am a real descendant of the Han royal line, which refers to another allusion in which Liu Bei claimed to be the legitimate successor to the throne of the Han Dynasty. I delete this sentence completely because it is an unnecessary repetition of the previous sentence and this allusion is superfluous to the appreciation of this dialogue. This strategy will be taken up and discussed in more detail later.

As for the other two names, Su Bin 蘇斌 and Sai Chao-chun 賽昭君, in Su Bin, the word 斌 is a combination of two Chinese characters, i.e., 文 (wen, "genteel," or "scholarly") and 武 (wu, "powerful," "martial"). Therefore, this name is used to parody Su Wu, who was exiled by the Huns to tend sheep in the savage far North, but maintained his loyalty to the Han Dynasty during his 19 years' exile. The name 斌 has not only 文 (wen) but also 武 (wu), meaning he is better, more loyal than Su Wu, a man of faith and loyalty. In Sai Chao-chun, Sai 賽 means "comparable to," "competing with," or "better than." That also means that Sai Chao-chun is more beautiful, more faithful than Wang

Chao-chun 王昭君, who committed suicide to maintain her loyalty after being sent to placate a Hun king as a concubine. For these two allusions I do not add explanations to my translation because they are either explicitly illustrated or implicitly implied within the context. Listening to the dialogue, the audience can form a picture of what the allusion is all about by mental association. For example, in the case of Su Pin, it is clearly indicated that he is not inferior to Su Wu in terms of loyalty and in the case of Sai Chao-chun, it is implied she is not just a common beauty. There is no need for the addition of any explanation; otherwise, the audience might be deprived of imagination by the translator's overtranslating. Therefore, we can see that writing-footnotes-into-translation can be a very useful strategy as discussed above, but on occasions, it is better to keep the allusions as simple as possible. Much depends on the translator's judgment and discretion to tackle this tricky problem.

(C) Keep the allusion as simple as possible by translating literally without providing any further explanation when the allusion can be understood explicitly or implicitly within the context. This strategy has been brought up and illustrated by the examples of Su Bin and Sai Chao-chun above. I would like to provide two more examples. At the beginning of the play when God asks the three ghosts to catch all mankind on earth to be tried before him. Finding such an arduous task out of the question, the three ghosts were at their wit's end about what to do. Suddenly, Ghost III hits upon an idea. He says:

無常三：荒唐！荒唐！（稍停）哈，有了

，有了，記不記得當年（無常一、二停、聽）我的拜弟小荒唐，偷往人間改名叫做秦始皇？

無常二：就是那個後來在羅馬叫什麼尼祿，不不久前又回到中國，吹吹牛說什麼（吟）「數千古風流人物還看今今朝」的毛毛……？

無常三：就是他。記不記得他當時要造一道萬里長牆，……

Ghost III: Ridiculous! It is ridiculous! (pause) Wait! I got it! Don't you remember once (Ghost I & II stop to listen) my blood brother Little Folly escaped to the earth and called himself Ch'in Shih-huang?

Ghost II: Is he the one who was called Nero in ancient Rome? And who returned to China not long ago and called himself Mao ..., boasting that he was superior to any hero who ever lived in history?

Ghost III: That's him. And don't you remember when he wanted to build the Great Wall, ...

Here, Ch'in Shih-huang 秦始皇 is another allusion. To the common Chinese, he stands for a cruel, ambitious, crazy tyrant who sacrificed hundreds and thousands of people's lives to build the Great Wall. Listening to the dialogue, the audience, I believe, can form such a picture of Ch'in Shih-huang without any explanation. They can put Nero of the ancient Rome, Mao Tze-tung during the Cultural Revolution and Ch'in Shih-huang in the same category by mental association. Therefore, there is no need for the stage translator to provide explanations to this allusion. For those who are especially interested in finding out the source of allusion, a footnote, of course, can be provided.

Toward the end of Act II, Yang, his brother, and his brother's two children are discussing whether there are ghosts, souls, or gods. Little Ling 小靈, Yang's brother's son, cites many famous men and gods in Chinese history as evidence to support his argument that there are souls. He says:

小靈：（慢慢地邊說邊回到D沙發旁）可是媽媽說以前有很多好人做了很偉大的事，他們的靈魂便變成了神，像關老爺啦，媽祖啦，岳飛啦。媽還說幫忙捉住孫悟空的如來佛，原來也是人，孔子也是人，耶穌也是人。對不對，爸？

Little Ling: (slowly returns to Sofa D while speaking) But Mom said that in ancient times the souls of many good men who had done great things were changed into gods like Lord Kuan, Ma-tsu and Yueh Fei. Mom also said that the Buddha who helped capture the Monkey was a man before. Confucius was a man and Jesus was a man too, right? Dad?

In this dialogue, Confucius and Jesus must be very familiar to both Chinese and Westerners. So are the Buddha and the Monkey. Therefore, like the previous example, the audience can use mental association to connect the less familiar names to the more familiar ones. So, I believe this strategy can be considered by the translator when the characteristics of the allusion can be illustrated within the context as they are not essential, but only incidental to the understanding of the play.

(D) Delete the unnecessary and superfluous allusion. Just use plain language to transmit the "spirit" of

the allusion to the audience. I agree with James Liu when he points out that:

As in dealing with symbols, so in dealing with allusions we should ask not so much whether they are original or conventional, popular or abstruse, but rather whether they have any purpose or justification. In other words, we should ask: Does this allusion add anything to the total effect or does it simply show off the poet's learning? Is there any reason for using allusions here, or could the poet have expressed what is embodied in the allusions just as well without using them?⁸

although Liu refers to translating poems in this quotation, it is more true of translating a play. Sometimes, a playwright may add a very obscure, or difficult allusion, either to provide background information, or to make his style more "literary," or just simply to show off his learning. Of course, he will never consider the problem of translating when he is using the allusion. But it often happens that an author's whim turns out to be a translator's nightmare. An author's frivolous act becomes a matter of life and death to a translator. What is more difficult is, as pointed out by Yu Kuang-chung 余光中, the dialogue of a play is to be heard by the audience. If it is not understood, it is lost. There is no second chance.⁹ It is obvious that, apart from being faithful, the audience must be taken into consideration by the stage translator. To solve the dilemma of translating difficult allusions in a play, Yu says that he "generalized" all the allusions, lest the audience feel puzzled when he translated Oscar Wilde's *The Importance of Being Ernest* into Chinese although he admitted that he might

try to maintain the special names in the allusions in poetry.¹⁰ Therefore, to translate obscure or difficult allusions in a play, I believe we can consider adopting a combination of Liu's and Yu's theories. That is to say, first of all, we should judge if this allusion is important or not, if it is justified or superfluous, if it will be puzzling, or lost to the audience when literally translated. If we judge the allusion as unnecessary or unimportant to the understanding of the scene or the whole play, we may delete the specific allusion and only transmit the "spirit" of the allusion by generalizing it to the audience. Here, I present an example to illustrate my point. In Act II, after being deeply disappointed at his friends' refusal to go with him to the hell and at leaving him one by one in a hurry, Yang is in great depression. He returns home frustrated with an uncertain hope that his wife might listen to him and go with him. As this moment, he sings a lamentation:

「我好比……」（轉白）我好比什麼？「籠中鳥有翅難展」？還是「南來雁」就要「失群飛散」，（稍頓）或許，我只是根本就不會飛的——一隻籠中的雞……」（轉唱）我好比籠中……

"I am like ..." (changes to speak)
I am like what? "A bird in the cage that has wings but can't spread them to fly," or "the migrating duck flying to the south" that will be "separated from its flock and get lost?" (pause)
Or maybe I am just like the chicken in a cage that is unable to fly ...
(changes to sing) I am like a caged. ...

Upon hearing the lamentation, Mrs. Yang, who is bringing two glasses and an opener because Yang tells her that he wants to have a drink with her, says:

喲！怎麼唱起「四郎探母」來了。你雖然可以「將楊字拆木易」，只可惜我不是鐵鏡公主，沒能讓你「匹配良緣」！怎麼是不是你今天找到了一個如花似玉，金髮碧眼的洋娃，要招駙馬啦？所以要請我喝喜酒？

We can see that here Hwang uses allusions from the play *Ssu Lang Visits His Mother* (*Ssu-lang tan mu* 四郎探母) to show the source from which Yang's lamentation originally comes. Nothing else. If literally translated, the first half of these lines 喲！怎麼唱起「四郎探母」來了。你雖然可以「將楊字拆木易」，只可惜我不是鐵鏡公主，沒能讓你「匹配良緣」！ can be translated: "Good gracious! Why did you sing the play *Si Lang Visits His Mother*? Although your surname Yang can be split into two parts *Mu* and *Yi*, it is a pity that I am not the Iron Mirror Princess, a good match for you!" Listening to these lines, a non-Chinese audience would have a hard time understanding what these *Ssu Lang Visits His Mother*, *Mu*, *I*, Iron Mirror Princess are all about. Chinese, familiar with this play, will have a smile on their faces. But a foreigner who listens to the above literal English translation will have only a frown, puzzled look or a big gape on his face. And there is a real rebus for a translator when he is confronted with these allusions. The line: 將楊字拆木易 is generally considered untranslatable, because it is a play on characters. Characteristic of Chinese ideographic form, the character *yang* 楊 is formed by putting two characters *mu* 木 and *i* 易 together. It is almost impossible to satisfactorily translate the ideographic form into the alphabetical system of a Western language. Although Hwang, who is also a prominent critic of translation, offers his solution as "splitting

(or separating) the character *yang* into its constituent parts *mu* and *yi*,"¹¹ the audience listening to it for only one time will have trouble figuring it out.

However, these allusions are used simply to provide background information to the previous lamentation. In other words, they are not very important, or essential to the understanding of the play. Few of the ordinary audience will really care about where the lamentation comes from. A good translation of the lamentation itself, with its repetition of *I am like*, can convey the necessary atmosphere of sadness, urgency, uncertainty, and helplessness for the scene.¹² Listening to the lamentation, the audience, I believe, can get the feeling. Therefore, these allusions from *Si Lang Visits His Mother* are not absolutely necessary. Instead, the audience may be glad to be relieved of them. Under this condition, Yu's alternative to generalize these specific allusions may be a good choice. And I translate Mrs. Yang's dialogue as:

Singing songs of lamentation? Feeling regret for our marriage? It is a pity that I am not a good match for you. Is there something you want to tell me? Have you found a blonde as beautiful as a flower or as a piece of jade to be your new bride? Are you inviting me to make a wedding toast?

You see that in place of the specific allusions, I try to convey only the spirit of these allusions to the audience. And I believe in case of the allusion which is obscure or peripheral, this alternative can be considered by a stage translator.

II. PUNS

Puns are especially important in

translating a play because a play is basically made up of dialogue. A playwright often employs puns or word-play to make the dialogue more lively, more interesting in order to achieve his desired effect, particularly in comedies. In the article "On Translating Chaucer into Chinese," Mimi Chan 陳張美美 points out that "No study of the problems of translating a literary work can exclude a reference to the problems of translating puns or word-play."¹³ It is especially true of translating a play. Often puns or word-play construct the comic or ironic atmosphere of the whole play. The failure of translating these puns can mean the failure of translating the whole play like that in Hwang's *Comedy*.

Up to the present time, many translators have struggled with this problem and it seems that all of them agree that translating a pun is one of the most difficult problems they have ever encountered in translation. For example, Ching-hsi Perng 彭鏡禧 points out that "In testing a translator's art, one touchstone is pun."¹⁴ Yu Kwang-chung admits that sometimes a pun is untranslatable and he can not but give it up.¹⁵ However, a careful study of some of the translations of classical Chinese drama shows that there are many good examples of very good translation of puns or word-play.¹⁶ And it is a pleasant surprise to find that Hwang has offered some very useful techniques for translating puns in his article "Translating Puns for the Stage."¹⁷ I will use practical examples from Hwang's *Comedy* to examine the translation theories considered by most translators. I hope through our discussion a better translation will result, more possibilities can be considered and a consensus about better alternative

strategies can be reached. The basic strategies considered for translating puns are discussed as follows:

(A) Use explanatory note: Liang, the famous translator of Shakespearean plays into Chinese, has a lot of experience of tackling puns because he notes that "Punning was a fashionable diversion in Shakespeare's day."¹⁸ What is his method to solve these puns in Shakespearean plays? In his "On Translating Shakespeare," Liang writes: "In translation puns present great difficulties as they are almost always untranslatable. But, if the translator chooses to ignore them altogether, he will feel he is not being faithful to the original. So he is left with no alternative but to footnote his translation."¹⁹ Liang seems to argue that providing footnotes is the only way to solve the punning in translation. Here, I tend to agree with Hwang as he points out that "the common practice of explaining puns in footnotes does not exist for the audience."²⁰ Unless the translation is meant for reading only, I think the translator should take pains to consider ways more effective other than simply supplying footnotes. Especially, I believe using explanatory notes may be the last resort for a stage translator. Puns are usually used to amuse the audience in the source language, so if the translation cannot achieve this desired effect in the target language, I consider the translation a failure.

(B) Try to come up with something of an equivalent to the original in sound and meaning: most translators agree that it is usually a purely happy coincidence that a stage translator can hit on the same combinations of sound and sense in the target language.²¹ But I think it does not mean that we should

not try. It is a very encouraging sign that there are quite a few successful examples of translating puns in classical Chinese drama cited by Perng in his "Classical Chinese Drama in English: A Critique of Some Recent Translations."²² So I believe this strategy should be the first consideration for a stage translator. Only when he cannot employ this strategy after a careful consideration should he try other alternatives.

Now I should present some interesting examples from my translation of Hwang's *Comedy* to test how close my translation comes to the original. In Act II, when Yang comes home to tell his family what has happened to him, his parents, his wife, and his friends (Dr. Meng and his wife) do not believe him. They begin to argue among themselves if there are ghosts or not. Yang's father finding that the argument is futile and useless and that it is time for dinner urges them to stop and prepare to eat dinner. At this moment, Yang's brother, Hong-ren, opens a book and starts to recite the famous Hamlet's soliloquy, "To be or not to be. . . ." Hearing this, Yang's mother, who naturally does not understand English, mistakes them for 什麼「吐皮」不「吐皮」的 *shê-mo t'u-p'i pu t'u-p'i tê*. The original of this comic episode runs like this:

楊恒人：(翻開書) "To be or not to be, that is the question." . . .

楊母：(站起) 什麼「吐皮」不「吐皮」的，能吃的都應該吃下去！糟蹋了糧食可是罪過。

And I translate it as:

Heng-jen: (opens the book) "To be or not to be, that is the question. . . ."

Mother: (Stands up) What is this
"to peel or not to peel?"
Any food which is edible
should be eaten! It is a
sin to waste food.

The comic effect depends on the pun to be or not to be/ 吐皮不吐皮 (*t'u-p'i pu t'u-p'i*). Although 吐皮 (*t'u-p'i*) originally means to spit out skin in Chinese, "to peel" is the best English equivalent in sound and meaning I can think of.

In Act III, which is full of comic and sarcastic scenes, the three Ghosts sent by God to catch Yang are holding a preliminary trial to investigate how the ghosts they have caught died. One hungry ghost tells them that he died of starvation. Ghost II makes fun of him by asking him why he did not eat more meat since he has such a big mouth. The hungry ghost asks:

餓鬼：什麼肉呀？
無常三：香肉、弱肉，什麼肉吃下去都會
長肉啊。
餓鬼：弱肉？堂堂男子漢我可不是吃軟
飯的！
無常三：我是說「弱肉強食」的弱肉。這
個肉都不知道，難怪你的身上會
沒有一點肉。到一邊去。下一個！

My translation reads:

Hungry ghost: What meat?
Ghost III: Sweet meat, weak meat,
any meat you eat can
help you put on meat.
Hungry ghost: Weak meat? I am a man
and I will not live off
a woman.
Ghost III: The weak meat I mean
refers to "The strong
eat the weak." You've
never heard of such
meat? It is no doubt
that there is no meat
on you body. With-

draw! Next!

The pun in this dialogue is on 弱肉 (*jo-jou*)/ 弱肉強食 (*jo-jou ch'iang-shih*). It is believed by common Chinese people that 吃什麼補什麼 (*ch'ih shê mo pu shê mo*), meaning anything you eat can help you strengthen the corresponding part in your body. For example, if you eat liver, it can strengthen you liver. If you eat meat, it can help you put on more meat. And there is a very common Chinese phrase that 弱肉強食 (*jo-jou ch'iang-shih*), meaning the weak are just like meat to be eaten by the strong. Hwang invents 弱肉 (*jo-jou*, literally meaning weak meat) to have a word play on this phrase. If 弱肉 (*jo-jou*) is translated as lean meat, or red meat (瘦肉, *shou-jou*), which is more commonly understood, the pun will be lost. So I translate 弱肉 (*jo-jou*) literally as weak meat to retain the homophonic correlation with 弱肉強食 (*jo-jou ch'iang-shih*).

Another example is when the Ghosts are checking out how an idiot dwarf ghost died at the age of twenty, Ghost III says:

無常三：……不過，我知道他是喝吹泡泡
的肥皂水死的。
無常一：肥皂泡水？
無常三：正是吹泡水。他看到許多人吹肥
皂泡泡，他也想搖身一變像肥皂
泡泡一樣，飛——昇——。可是
泡泡水要吹才成大泡泡。他只會
「苦水」，不知「自吹」之道
，所以——
無常二：所以就苦苦苦死啦！荒——唐。

The bitter satire on gaining promotion by unscrupulous boast or brag in this dialogue derives chiefly from the pun on 吹肥皂泡泡 (*ch'ui fei-chao p'ao-p'ao*, "blowing bubbles")/ 自吹 (*chih-ch'ui*, "boast of oneself," "brag of oneself").

The problem of translating the pun lies in how to translate 自吹 (*chih-ch'ui*). If this phrase is translated as "boast of oneself," "brag of oneself," or "inflate oneself," then the pun of homophonic effect contained in the original pun will be lost. Therefore, I translate 自吹 (*chih-ch'ui*) as "blow oneself up" to retain its homophonic effect with "blow bubbles up."

I translate these lines as:

Ghost III: ... But, I do know he died of swallowing bubble liquid.

Ghost I: Bubble liquid?

Ghost III: Right, for blowing bubbles. When he saw a lot of people blowing bubbles, he thought of changing himself into something like a soap bubble to fly up, and up. But, to fly up, a bubble has to be blown up into a big bubble. But, not knowing how to "blow himself up," he could not but swallow the "bitter water." So...

Ghost II: So, he died of swallowing bitterness. Ridiculous!

(C) Creative transposition is sometimes needed: as Eugene Nida puts it:

The translator's basic task is to reproduce what has been given, not to improve it, even when he thinks he can do so. However, there are two situations which require certain radical types of changes, namely: (a) when a close formal equivalent is utterly meaningless, and (b) when it carries a wrong meaning.²³

A Chinese character pun is a typical example which can illustrate the situation pointed out by Nida, which finds formal equivalent in English impossible. It

is quite commonly found that the ideographic form typical of Chinese characters is sometimes employed by a playwright to create a comic effect of the word-play. The problem that the translator has to face is that English words are composed of letters, which usually do not carry any meaning. The basic difference of these two languages becomes a dark abyss for the translator. In this case, a translator may consider creative transposition instead of wracking his brain futilely for equivalents or supplying footnotes. Cyril Birch also maintains that it may be a feasible alternative to defective translation or total neglect:

... it might sometimes be preferable in an English translation to transpose it into the domain of the spoken pun — invention is preferable to neglect.²⁴

Now, I shall present two examples from Hwang's *Comedy* to demonstrate and examine this technique. In the Prologue when Yang appears on the stage, he is carefree, in a happy mood, without the least suspicion that he will soon die and be summoned to hell. Therefore, when he hears his name being called by Ghost II, he thinks that someone is trying to make fun of him. He does not believe that a ghost will come to catch him. He says jokingly to Ghost II who is now invisible:

楊世人：是誰派你來的？

(無常不答)

(楊一邊問，一邊左、右轉身尋找，
但就是看不到無常，心中越來越怕)
是黑手黨？紅手黨？白手黨？共產黨
？是閻王爺派你來的——

無常二：這這一下你猜猜對了。

The difficulty of translation lies in the

line 黑手黨？紅手黨？白手黨？(he-shou-tang? hung-shou-tang? pai-shou-tang?). The term mafia is translated as hei-shou-dang 黑手黨 in Chinese, which consists of three characters literally meaning black-hand gang. Hwang tries to create the comic effect by having a word-play on the three-character term 黑手黨. He invents the two new terms by substituting the first character like *hung* 紅 or *pai* 白 for the original *hei* 黑 to keep them as three-character words and retain the rhyme *tang* 黨 at the end. If one tries to maintain the characteristics of the original by literally translating the line as “black-hand gang? red-hand gang? white-hand gang?” it will become meaningless to the audience. So, it is impossible to find an equivalent in English. Invention here shall be pardoned. And I translate the line as “Mafia? Red Mafia? Black Mafia? Gaddafi’s Mafia?” Therefore, my translation of this part reads:

Yang: Who sent you here?

(Ghost II does not answer. Yang turns left and right, asking and looking around, but can not see anything. He becomes more and more afraid.)
Is it Mafia? Red Mafia? Black Mafia? Gaddafi’s Mafia, or Gestapo? or Mr. Satan who sent you here?

Ghost II: You — you got it.

The other example is in Act I when Hun Shi-chong, a friend of Yang’s, tries to persuade Yang to have some fun at Pei-tou, which was known as “Man’s Paradise” in Taiwan. Yang, smiling bitterly, answers slowly:

楊世人：……北投？——地獄谷。

混世蟲：北投地獄谷？新開的旅館？（站起）

（楊搖搖頭，混向「中下」走了幾步，停，敲敲自己的頭）

該死，該死，我這個混世龍——我是說混世蟲——真是越混越回去了，現在很多這種地方都改叫賓館了，對不對？

楊世人：（輕輕地）我們要去的地方比賓館多了一個字。

混世蟲：（微愕）哈哈，我懂，我懂。賓館、殯儀館都是極樂世界嘛！妙妙，妙極啦！

We can see that the pun here is on 賓館 (*pin-kuan*, “hotel”)/ 殯儀館 (*pin-i-kuan*, “funeral parlor”). The trick of this Chinese character pun is that although the first characters of these two terms are not exactly the same, they are homonyms. But if *pin-kuan* 賓館 is literally translated as “hotel” and *pin-i-kuan* 殯儀館 as “funeral parlor,” then the fun of this pun will be lost. Therefore, it is impossible to find any equivalents in English to correspond exactly with these two terms 賓館 and 殯儀館. And a footnote here will be inadequate. So, a little adaptation here seems to be a necessary evil to retain part of the flavor of the original pun. Therefore, I render the pun as “motel”/ “mortuary” to maintain the alliterative sound. I translate the dialogue as:

Yang: ... Pei-tou? The Valley of Hell?

Hun: The Valley of Hell in Pei-tou? Is it a new hotel? (rises)

(Yang shakes his head. Hun walks a few steps towards the center of the stage, stops and begins to hit himself in the head.)

Damn, damn. I, the dragon ... well, I mean the snake ... I am really going backward! Now, many of these places are called motels, aren't they?

Yang: (softly) The place we're going

to is different from a motel,
but has the same first letter.
Hun: M... Mo...
Yang: Mortuary.
Hun: Mor... Mortuary? You mean
a funeral...
Yang: Exactly.
Hun: (taken aback slightly) Ha! Ha!
Ha! I see, I see. Motel,
mortuary. They are all places
of eternal happiness. Marvelous!
Marvelous!

III. CONCLUSION

I fully agree with Perng that "the highest form of a translator's art is submission to the original work."²⁵ It is the translator's duty to approximate the stylistic features of the original as closely as possible. However, as pointed out by Winter, "completely exact translation is but a myth,"²⁶ especially in terms of allusions and puns as illustrated in this paper. It is both a challenge and a special skill for a translator to try to faithfully transfer the connotative meaning, or

the "inner spirit" within a literary work to another language. In translation or interpretation as argued by Jakobson,²⁷ a translator has to make a decision as to what to sacrifice, what to preserve.²⁸ In this paper, I try to put together and re-evaluate most of the techniques considered by the translators in translating a play by using examples from Hwang's *Comedy*. My purpose is to show that the reader or audience to whom a translation is addressed can determine the consideration of the theories to be used. It is the purpose of this paper to present all the alternative strategies for a translator to consider when he is trying to translate the allusions and puns in a play to be performed on a stage.

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NOTES

- ¹ Hwang Mei-shu 黄美序, *Yang Shih-jen te hsi-chu* 楊世人的喜劇 (*The Comedy of Yang Shih-jen*), *Chung-wai wen-hsueh* 中外文學 12.2 (July 1983): 134-77. My translation and this study is based on this edition.
- ² Hwang Mei-shu, "Problems and Possibilities in Translating Proverbs and Allusions," in *Tamkang Review* 16.2 (Winter 1985): 209.
- ³ Ibid.
- ⁴ Liang Shih-ch'iu 梁實秋, "Kuan-yu Sha-shi-pi-ya te fan-yi" 關於莎士比亞的翻譯 ("On translating Shakespeare"), trans., Chaun Sui-Cheong and Derek Herforth, in *Renditions*, No. 3 (Autumn 1974): 13-14.
- ⁵ Peter Arnott, "Greek Drama and the Modern Stages," in *The Craft and Context of Translation* (New York: Doubleday, 1964), 127-8, qtd. in Hwang, "Translating Puns for the Stage," *Renditions*, No. 14 (Autumn 1980): 76, note 7.
- ⁶ Prof. Hwang mentioned this technique in "Translating Puns for the Stage," *Renditions*, No. 14 (Autumn 1980): 73-78, and in "Problems and Possibilities in Translating Proverbs and Allusions."

Tamkang Review 16.2 (Winter 1985): 207-18.

- ⁷ This allusion comes from *San-kuo yen-i* 三國演義 (*The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*), Chapter I.
- ⁸ James J. Y. Liu, *The Art of Chinese Poetry* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1962), 131-32, qtd. in Hwang, "Problems and Possibilities in Translating Proverbs and Allusions," *Tamkang Review* 16.2: 209, note 4.
- ⁹ Yu Kuang-chung 余光中, trans., *The Importance of Being Ernest as Pu-k'ê Er-hsi* 不可兒戲 Taipei: Ta-ti ch'u-pan shê, 1983), 153.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 157.
- ¹¹ Hwang, "Translating Puns for the Stage," 76.
- ¹² Hwang Mei-shu, "Translating the Verse Passages in Peking Opera: Problems and Possibilities," in *Tamkang Review* 7.2 (Fall 1976): 114.
- ¹³ Mimi Chan 陳張美美, "On Translating Chaucer into Chinese," *Renditions*, No. 8 (Autumn 1977): 50.
- ¹⁴ Ching-hsi Perng 彭鏡禧, "Classical Chinese Drama in English: A Critique of Some Recent Translations," in *Bulletin of the College of Liberal Arts of National Taiwan University*, No. 31 (December 1982): 391.
- ¹⁵ Yu, 156.
- ¹⁶ Perng, 396-426.
- ¹⁷ Hwang, "Translating Puns for the Stage."
- ¹⁸ Liang, 13.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 13-14.
- ²⁰ Hwang, "Translating Puns for the Stage," 73.
- ²¹ See Perng's "Classical Chinese Drama in English: A Critique of Some Recent Translations" and Mimi Chan's "On Translating Chaucer into Chinese."
- ²² Perng, 392, 414-17.
- ²³ Eugène A. Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1964), 226, qtd. in Hwang, "Translating the Verse Passages in Peking Opera: Problems and Possibilities," *Tamkang Review* 8.1 (April, 1977): 192, note 50.
- ²⁴ Cyril Birch, "Translating and Transmuting Yuan and Ming Plays: Problems and Possibilities," *Literature East and West* 14.4 (1970): 492, qtd. in Hwang, "Translating Puns for the Stage," 75.
- ²⁵ Perng, 404.
- ²⁶ Werner Winter, "Impossibilities of Translation," *The Craft and Context of Translation*, eds. William Arrowsmith and Roger Shattuck (Austin, 1961), 72-74, qtd. in Perng, 424.
- ²⁷ Roman Jakobson, "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation," *On Translation*, ed., Reuben Brower (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1959), 232-39.
- ²⁸ Winter, 72-74, qtd. in Perng, 424.

Stories from Peking Opera

Chang Pe-chin

(張伯謹)

I. The Orphan of Chao (*Chao-shih ku-erh*)

This story took place in the Spring and Autumn Period, in the Kingdom of Tsin, where Duke Ching reigned.

Tu-an Ku, the Duke's favored minister, bore a personal grudge against the Chao clan, a hereditary family of esteem. Emboldened by the Duke's favoritism, Tu-an managed to put the entire Chao family — numbering three hundred strong — to death. At that time, Chao Shuo's wife, Chuang Chi, who was the Duke's younger sister, was pregnant. To preserve the baby, she fled to the Duke's palace, and thus escaped the massacre. In time she gave birth to Chao Wu. When Tu-an learned about this, he forthwith dispatched his squadron to the palace in search of the child.

The move was preempted by Kung-sun Ch'u-chiu, a faithful retainer of the Chao's, who took Chao Wu and hid him in his own house. Unable to find the baby in the palace, Tu-an ordered a nationwide search, and a deadline was set for the capture of Chao Wu. Anyone that knew the child's whereabouts was supposed to inform the authorities, and the hider required to turn himself in. In the event that the above measure should produce no

satisfactory result by the deadline, all the infants under one year of age in the kingdom were to be killed.

The Chao family had another retainer named Ch'eng Ying. It happened that at the age of fifty Ch'eng had just fathered a son. He went to have a discussion with Kung-sun Ch'u-chiu, offering the life of his own son in exchange for the safety of the orphan of Chao. They came up with a plan whose success called for someone willing to sacrifice his own life. Kung-sun, who was in his seventies, courageously offered to take on the job. As planned, Cheng Ying falsely charged Kung-sun with hiding the infant of Chao. T'u-an was pleased with this piece of information, and immediately had Kung-sun brought before him. Kung-sun, who denied the charge, went through a great deal of torture. To make sure that the two men did not conspire, the shrewd T'u-an ordered Ch'eng to thrash Kung-sun in public to extort a confession from the latter. After that, Ch'eng suggested that Kung-sun's household be carefully searched; thus Ch'eng's son was brought to the court.

T'u-an, mistaking it for the orphan of Chao, killed the child by dashing it to the floor. Kung-sun was also executed. Ch'eng then requested that T'u-an safe-guard his infant from any

assassination attempt of the Chao clan. T'u-an agreed, and kept the child, who was in fact the orphan of Chao, in his own house and brought him up.

Later, when Chao Wu grew up and became a Lord himself, he learned his true identity and killed T'u-an, thus avenging the murder of his father. Having seen this mission accomplished, Ch'eng Ying, who had for more than twenty years carried the stigma of a turncoat, committed suicide to requite the trust of Kung-sun.

(In the Peking Opera version, the story ends with Ch'eng's carrying the Orphan of Chao into the Tu-an household.)

II. T'ien Tan Saves His Master (*T'ien Tan chiu chu*)

King Min, the lewd sovereign of the State of Ch'i, indulged in sensual pleasures and neglected government. He doted on Lady Tsou, and through her gave the eunuch Yi Li a free hand in managing court affairs. The crown prince, T'ien Fa-chang, was a sagacious gentleman and a filial son. After he had warned his father about court affairs several times, he entailed the anger of Lady Tsou and Yi Li, who decided to conspire against him.

One day, after the King had drunk some wine, Lady Tsou falsely accused the crown prince of flirting with the King's concubines. The King flew into a rage and ordered Yi Li to arrest the prince at night in the Eastern Palace where he lived. But the prince got wind of it and escaped. Yi Li's squadrons started searching everywhere for the prince.

The crown prince ran into General T'ien Tan while the latter was making

his rounds of the city. T'ien Tan hid the prince in his own house. When Yi Li and his men surrounded T'ien Tan's house, T'ien Tan asked the prince to dress like a girl. In the meantime, he denied having seen the prince. Yi Li ordered a search, and when the "girl" was discovered in the room, T'ien Tan identified her as his younger sister. After the incredulous Yi Li had withdrawn with his soldiers, T'ien Tan, sure that Yi Li would be back again, dressed himself and the prince as brother and sister, and the two fled in a hurry. Arriving at the city gate, T'ien had to bribe the guards before they were allowed to pass.

Later, King Chao of the State of Yen, with Yueh Yi as his commanding general, overpowered more than seventy towns of the State of Ch'i in a single day. King Min was killed. But the crown prince, with the assistance of General T'ien Tan, eventually recovered the lost land, thus accomplishing a major revival in history.

III. The Emperor Reassures an Old Ally (*Shang t'ien-t'ai*)

Emperor Kuang-wu of the Eastern Han Dynasty doted on Lady Kuo, a concubine. Lady Kuo's father, the Imperial Advisor, usurped political power and intervened in government affairs. One day he was killed by Yao Kang, son of Yao Ch'i, the emperor's sworn brother. At the entreaties of Lady Kuo, the emperor called in Yao Ch'i, who, knowing the offense his son had committed, had the latter tied and also brought into the court.

Now the emperor had made an agreement with his sworn brother when they were soldiers together, that he

would never behead Yao or his family as long as they remained true to him. Remembering this agreement, the emperor dispatched Yao Kang to Hu-pei to pacify the bandits there, hoping that in this way Yao might redeem himself.

Even though he and his son had escaped punishment this time, Yao Ch'i realized that as a courtier, he could never be secure. He therefore asked the emperor's permission to retire from the court. The emperor, who knew what his sworn brother had in mind, reiterated the agreement they had made, and the greatly relieved Yao Ch'i decided to stay on.

IV. Meeting at Ku-ch'eng (*Ku-ch'eng hui*)

General Kuan Yü, of the Three Kingdoms Period, was a sworn brother to Prince Liu Pei and General Chang Fei. Once, Kuan was made captive by Ts'ao Ts'ao, then Premier at the court and an arch-enemy of Liu Pei. At the first opportunity, Kuan broke away from the Ts'ao camp in an attempt to escort his two sisters-in-law back to his sworn brother Liu Pei. On the way he had to kill six generals of Ts'ao's army.

When he learned that Chang Fei was guarding a nearby town called Ku-ch'eng, and that Liu Pei was also there, Kuan was greatly relieved. He sent a messenger to Chang to announce his return. Chang, however, was incredulous, for he thought his erstwhile sworn brother must have defected to the Ts'ao camp. All Kuan's entreaties, and even the testimony of the two sisters-in-law, were to no avail.

While they were still arguing, General

Ts'ai Yang, who had been dispatched by Ts'ao Ts'ao, arrived with an army to arrest Kuan Yü. Kuan took the opportunity to show his loyalty to Liu Pei by slaying Ts'ai Yang in just one bout. The three sworn brothers were made friends again.

V. Madame Hsu Berates Ts'ao Ts'ao (*Hsu-mu ma Ts'ao*)

Hsu Shu, an able strategist, was in the service of Liu Pei when Ts'ao Ts'ao, Liu's arch-enemy, wanted to recruit him. Ts'ao, on the advice of Ch'eng Yü, tricked Hsu's mother into coming to the capital, where she thought her son was an official of the court. But when Ts'ao asked her to write a letter to summon her son, who was known for filial piety, the mother knew she had been had.

Instead of submitting to Ts'ao's threats and entreaties, however, Madame Hsu gave the latter a good scolding in public before throwing an ink-stand at him. She did this on purpose, to prompt the enraged Ts'ao to kill her, thus forestalling any possibility of her son's joining the Ts'ao camp.

The sly Ts'ao, however, did nothing of the sort. Instead, he once again followed Ch'eng Yü's advice and threatened Madame Hsu all the more courteously. The purpose was for Madame Hsu to take Ch'eng into confidence, thereby enabling the latter to imitate her handwriting, so that one day he could forge a letter to summon Hsu Shu to the capital.

VI. Sacrificing at the River (*Chi-chiang*)

Lady Sun, sister to General Sun

Ch'uan, was married to Liu Pei as part of a political alliance. When Sun and Liu ran foul of each other and became rivals, Lady Sun was recalled by her brother, who further gave out the false news of the death of Liu Pei. Lady Sun saw the tight security around her and knew that she had no hope of ever returning to her husband's court in the province of Shu. One day, finding an excuse to leave the palace, she went straight to the Yangtze River, where she offered a sacrifice to her supposedly dead husband before throwing herself into the river to commit suicide.

VII. The Empty-city Strategem (*K'ung-ch'eng chi*)

When the bad news came that the city of Hsin-ch'eng had been lost to the enemy, Chu-ko Liang, the chief military counsellor of the Kingdom of Shu, expected Ssu-ma Yi, his counterpart of the rivalling Kingdom of Wei, to attack Chieh-t'ing next, for it was a vital strategic pass to the middle of China. General Ma Su, a military aide eager for glory, volunteered for the job of defending the place. He pleaded and pleaded, and even proffered the lives of his family as surety against defeat. Although Chu-ko knew that Ma was not the best candidate, he had no other choice: there simply weren't enough qualified men around. Not taking any chances, however, Chu-ko gave Ma instructions aplenty, and also assigned Wang P'ing, another general, as Ma's aide. Once he got to Chieh-t'ing, however, Ma encamped atop the mountain, despite Wang's counsel to the contrary. When Ssu-ma's army arrived, they first cut off Ma's water-supply, and then surrounded him from all sides. Consequently,

Ma's soldiers were routed while he himself barely escaped death. Neither were Wang P'ing and his soldiers, who were stationed at the foot of the mountain, able to hold out the attack. Thus was Chieh-t'ing lost.

The victorious Wei soldiers moved right along to Hsi-ch'eng, where Chu-ko Liang was left with just a few dozens aged reserves. Caught by surprise, he came up with a daring idea. First he had all the four gates of the city flung wide open. Then he brought some wine to the tower of the city wall, where he read some book while plucking at a Chinese zither, looking calm and unperturbable. When Ssu-Ma Yi came in person and heard the serene music, he suspected it was Chu-ko's ploy to trick him in. Therefore he ordered his troop to retreat to forty *li* outside of the city.

Soon Ma Su and Wang P'ing returned. The enraged Chu-ko first gave Wang a thrashing. He then summoned Ma Su and called to account Ma's self-willed-ness and disobedience. Ma could find no excuse but that he had an aged mother at home. Though sympathetic, Chu-ko was compelled by martial law to have Ma Su beheaded. He then stripped himself of the title of the Earl of Wu-hsiang.

VIII. Abandoning One's Own Son (*Sang-yuan ch'i tzu*)

Teng Yu, whose style name was Po-tao, lived in the Tsin Period. When the northern rebels came attacking on horseback, the entire nation was in turmoil. Teng's village was no exception. He took his widowed sister-in-law, née Chin, and her son Teng Yuan, along with his own son Teng Fang, to seek

shelter elsewhere.

On the way, they were separated by undisciplined soldiers. With his sister-in-law nowhere to be found, Teng had to trudge along with the two children. Since Teng was an old man, and the children were small, none could stand long walks, particularly on rugged paths. One day, at dusk, both children complained about sore feet, and could not move. They both wanted Teng to carry them on his back. When Teng carried his own son, his nephew would cry; when he carried the nephew, his own son would weep. Nothing was more sorry than the lot of this doddering old man.

It then occurred to Teng that his dead brother had only this son surviving, but his own son at least had a father. With a plan in mind, he pretended to pick some mulberries for food, tricking his son into climbing up a mulberry tree. There he bound him up. He then bit his finger and wrote a note in blood, which he placed in his son's bosom. This done, he carried his nephew on his back and departed in tears.

Later, Teng's sister-in-law happened to come by the mulberry wood. She saw her nephew and untied him. Eventually the four of them were reunited in the city of T'ung-kuan.

IX. A Brave Youth (*Yueh-chia Chuang*)

Yueh Fei was a general in the Sung Dynasty. Once he led an army to fight against the invading Jurcheds. His eldest son, Yun, though only twelve, had a lofty ambition and possessed extraordinary physical strength. He was also good at handling a pair of silver maces that weighed one hundred and twenty *chin* (about sixty kilograms) each. This

martial art, it was said, he learned directly from General Lei, a mortal who, after his death, was deified and worshiped in the Temple of General Chang Sui-yang. Yun had always wanted to join his father and make a name for himself, but his family carefully kept from him the whereabouts of his father.

When Wu-chu, the fourth prince of the Jurcheds, found himself no equal to General Yueh Fei, he adopted the advice of his military advisor: he secretly dispatched an army led by two generals of his, Hsueh-li "the Leopard" and Chang Chao-nu, to the County of T'ang-yin, General Yueh's hometown. The idea was to kidnap Yueh's mother and all his family members and keep them as hostages, for he was sure that General Yueh, whose filial piety was widely known, could never bear to see his mother suffer. What he didn't expect was that, arriving at T'ang-yin, both of his generals would be killed by Yueh Yun's maces.

X. Hsueh P'ing-kuei Tests His Own Wife (*Wu-chia Po*)

Hsueh P'ing-kuei, who had left his family to seek fame in the army, in time rose to the rank of general. In one battle, he was captured by the Princess of Hsi-liang, a tribal nation west of China. The Princess married him, and eventually he succeeded to the throne and became King of Hsi-liang. Later, however, he missed his former wife Wang Pao-ch'uan so much that he travelled long miles to revisit his old home.

No sooner had he arrived at Wu-chia Po, his hometown, than he met Pao-ch'uan. But it had been eighteen years since they parted, and now both had aged. Instead of immediately identifying

himself to his wife, Hsueh resorted to teasing her, with a view to testing her chastity. The harrassment angered Pao-ch'uan, who managed to get rid of Hsueh and locked her kiln house against him. Hsueh pleaded and claimed that he was no other than Pao-ch'uan's long-

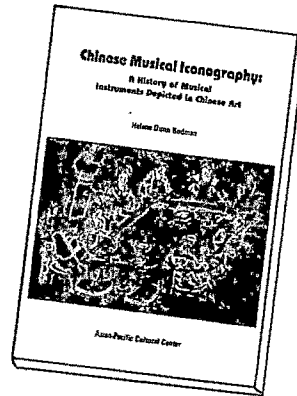
separated husband, but it was no use. Only after Hsueh had gone to the length of explaining the situation of eighteen years ago, and told her that he had been made a prince, did Pao-ch'uan open the door to receive him.

BOOK NEWS FROM ASIAN-PACIFIC CULTURAL CENTER

Chinese Musical Iconography

A History of Musical Instruments Depicted in Chinese Art

Helene Dunn Bodman



Publication date: November 1987

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Dr. Helene Dunn Bodman is a specialist in the history of Chinese music who is currently engaged in research in Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

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